A New Start for the Alliance

April 25, 1963 35¢

THE UNCUTTABLE BUDGET

THE REPORTER

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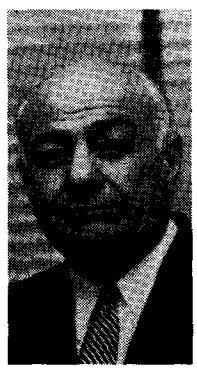

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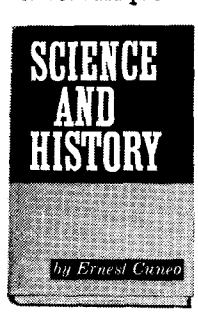

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INTERPRETER

Slide rules and petticoats . . . what a combination! Incongruous? Yet this home economist, who is employed by the Frigidaire Division of General Motors, is involved with each. She wears many "hats" . . . tester, designer, writer, demonstrator. She conducts classes in home economics in schools and companies—teaches how to get the most out of new GM-built household appliances.

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

IN HIS EDITORIAL for this issue, **Max Ascoli** asks a series of Why's, questions that are perhaps more disheartening to the questioner than to the questioned.

Somehow, since the confrontation over Cuba last fall, the sense of relief that we got through that one at least without a nuclear war has turned to a sense of dissatisfaction and doubt within the Alliance. General de Gaulle is not the only western leader who has expressed a suspicion that we Americans want to keep for ourselves the absolute power to involve other nations in nuclear war if and when we see fit, or to abandon them if their national interests don't seem important to us. On the other hand, there are those in Washington and elsewhere who suspect that some of our allies are perfectly content to let us defend them in case of war but are not willing to accept their proper share of responsibility in planning and controlling mutual defense measures. In our issue of March 28, Henry A. Kissinger analyzed the background of "NATO's Nuclear Dilemma." In this issue **Eugene V. Rostow,** dean of the Yale Law School, outlines a plan that he believes could lead to "'A New Start for the Alliance" . . . . First a national news magazine and then one of our most prominent newspapers recently carried curious reports from Paris to the effect that the French were going through a kind of agonizing reappraisal about the development of their national nuclear force. In denying the substance of the reports, the French government has also stated emphatically that its basic policy remains unchanged. **Hanson W. Baldwin,** the distinguished military writer for the New York *Times,* presents a careful inventory of the various nuclear forces being developed for the defense of Europe and comments realistically on how they might be best co-ordinated to accomplish their missions.

IT IS GLOOMY to reflect upon the almost continuous misfortunes that have befallen Laos—a country that John Foster Dulles intended as a bulwark against Communism in the Far East. Now, with civil war breaking out yet again and the hopes for some sort of peace seemingly remote, **Stanley Karnow** writes about the cloudy future of an endlessly tortured little country, caught among forces far beyond its power to handle. Mr. Karnow, special correspondent for Time, Inc. in the Far East, is the author of *Southeast Asia* (Time, Inc.) . . . . **Donald S. Zagoria,** a research fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University, discusses the steadily mounting hostility between China and the Soviet Union . . . . The annual futility of budget battles in Washington is reviewed with no great hope for improvement by **Robert D. Novak,** Washington correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* . . . . Philip A. Hoff is the first Democratic governor Vermont has had in more than a century. **William S. Ellis,** a free lance newspaperman, reports on the first hundred days of this lonely Democrat.

THERE WAS no happy ending to the story of the school for Negro young ladies that Prudence Crandall opened more than a century ago in Canterbury, Connecticut, and from which she and her pupils were driven out. It is in the nature of stories about injustice that they can never be made to end neatly —for the struggle with which they are concerned never is concluded and they simply start all over again. It is somewhat consoling to know, however, that some fifty years after Miss Crandall was driven out of Canterbury, a group of citizens petitioned the Connecticut legislature to "join with them in making reparation for the wrong done in the past." An annual pension of $400 was voted Mrs. Calvin Philleo, née Prudence Crandall, then an old woman living in Kansas. **Robert Rushmore** is a free lance writer who has written for the State Department and the Voice of America . . . . **Marya Mannes** draws sharp conclusions from certain painful traits that she considers common to the major new offerings of American playwrights during New York's recent theatrical season . . . . **John Engels** teaches at Saint Michael's College in Vermont . . . . **Daniel Patrick Moynihan,** an Assistant Secretary of Labor, reviews Cecil Woodham-Smith's account of the great Irish potato famine and remarks on some of the effects the tragedy had on that country . . . . **William T. Hagan** is on the faculty of North Texas State University, in Denton, Texas . . . . **Nat Hentoff** is our regular jazz critic.

Our spring cover is by **Reg Massie,** art director of this magazine.

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THE NUCLEAR DILEMMA

To the Editor: Congratulations to Henry A. Kissinger for his brilliant, incisive, and courageous critique of our NATO policy concerning nuclear weapons ("NATO's Nuclear Dilemma," *The Reporter,* March 28). Congratulations also to you for an outstanding public service in publishing it, despite a length beyond your customary limits. It is hard to single out any portion of Mr. Kissinger's article for special praise. All of it needed saying, and he says it extremely well.

BERNARD BRODIE
Pacific Palisades, California

To the Editor: I cannot in the space of a letter comment on the merits or the meaning of Mr. Kissinger's proposal for helping the French and the British build a nuclear strategic force. However, I would like to correct the false impression that he creates, I am sure unwittingly, about the series of studies that I led beginning in 1951 on the problems of deterrence. Mr. Kissinger suggests that these studies had to do principally with what he calls "controlled-counterforce general war" and "nuclear superiority . . . in an age of nuclear plenty." In this way he identifies these studies with the current inflamed and confused debate.

In fact, the studies focused on the complex and at that time urgent and unsolved problem of securing an adequate deterrent force in the face of a growing nuclear threat. They mainly concerned ways of making our own forces less vulnerable to attack rather than methods of attacking enemy bombers. The concept of a "second-strike capability" was worked out in connection with the task of reducing the likelihood of deliberate or "accidental" war, not with the problem of moderating damage in case, in spite of our best efforts to avoid it, war comes. These studies and the thesis of *The Delicate Balance of Terror,* published at the end of 1958, were directed at an important part, but very far from the whole, of the question of national and alliance defense.

It is quite true, and not inconsistent, to say that if deterrence fails it is sensible to have a plan for limiting the damage we and our allies would suffer; and, along with many others, I have more recently done some analysis of the requirements of such plans. On the other hand, the mixture of many elements involved in a useful policy for reducing such a catastrophe would include, among other things, active and passive defenses; it is not adequately conveyed by the phrase "controlled-counterforce general war." Moreover, I have never been able to make any sense at all out of the stereotypes "nuclear superiority in an age of nuclear plenty,"

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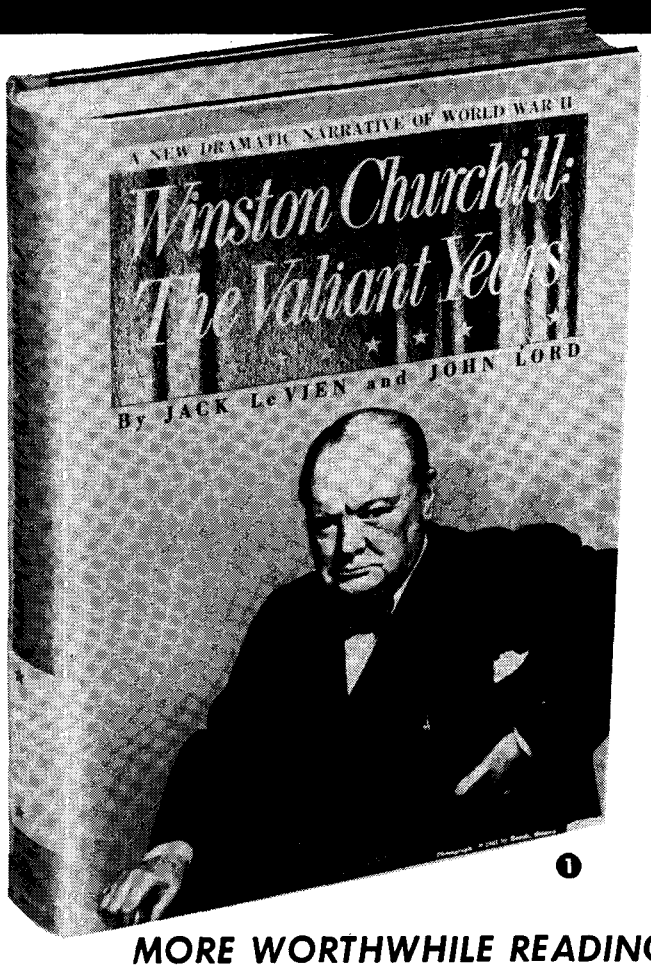

❶

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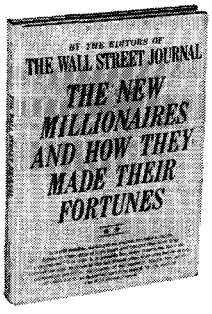

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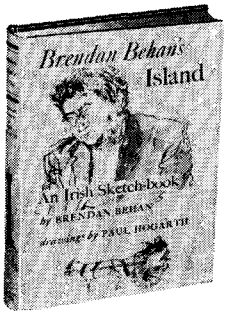

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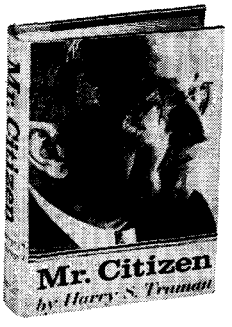

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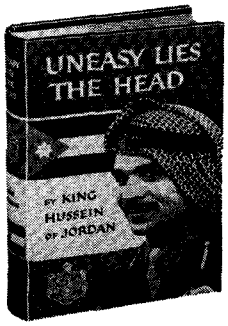

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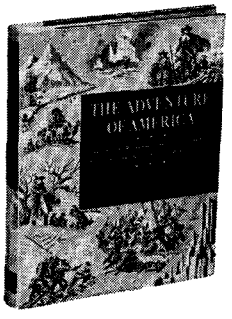

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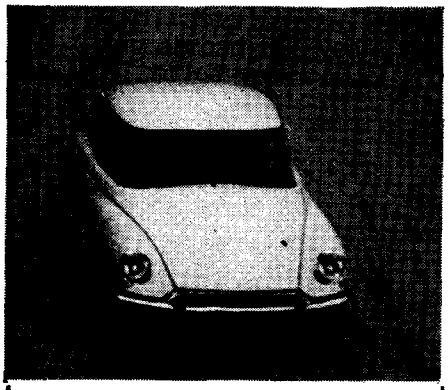

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or for that matter, "no nuclear superiority in an age of nuclear plenty," or anything similar. In any case, I have never used these phrases.

Finally, whatever the content of what Mr. Kissinger munificently calls "the Wohlstetter doctrine," its connection with what he describes as administration policy is most farfetched. And, while I disagree with the administration on several essentials, such as the multilateral force, it does not appear to me that Mr. Kissinger's account of administration policy is very much more accurate than his account of my own views. This is especially so with respect to the relation of conventional force and the American nuclear guarantee.

ALBERT WOHLSTETTER
Member of the Research Council
The Rand Corporation
Santa Monica, California

To the Editor: Henry Kissinger charges the administration with political unrealism. But how realistic, after General de Gaulle's January press conference, is Mr. Kissinger's suggestion that a European nuclear force start from "a common Franco-British" program? How realistic is his confidence that West Germany could then be denied nuclear strike forces under its own control, even if the warheads were manufactured elsewhere to fit unchanged treaty obligations?

Small nuclear strike forces cannot, as Mr. Kissinger suggests, be thought of "as Sweden and Switzerland think of their armies." If Swedish armies fight, friendly nations are not hurt. But if a *force de frappe* hits Moscow and other Soviet cities, either before the defense of Europe requires a general strike at the Soviet Union or before that strike has to degenerate into city attacks, civilization is further jeopardized. Yet France's contempt for conventional defense increases reliance upon risky nuclear threats; its nuclear design is oriented toward city targets; and France, unlike America, spurns allied political guidelines.

A multilateral force can go astray, but it is now open to all in NATO to shape it from the beginning toward a use that reconciles joint control with responsible global strategy; arms with arms control. Mr. Kissinger's alternative is to subsidize those whose established programs defy such reconciliation.

MALCOLM HOAG
Santa Monica, California

To the Editor: Professor Kissinger has wisely counseled us to view the problem of NATO's nuclear dilemma in a political context—a context shaped by legitimate European aspirations for greater control over Europe's destiny and for greater influence on Alliance policies. The problem of nuclear force is obviously an important issue. However, as recent experience amply demonstrates, it is not the only issue. We should not expect that by making ac-

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commodations to European wishes with respect to nuclear force we will ensure harmony in the Alliance. Since we face an extended period of adjustment to Europe's phenomenal postwar revival, we should not, for political reasons, accept nuclear solutions which themselves are technically and strategically unsound. To advocate solutions without inquiring into their technical and strategic effects may well create new political difficulties for the future.

It seems to me that the Europeans' dominant argument for a nuclear force of their own, whether national, multinational, or multilateral, is that it would place a European finger on the American nuclear trigger. Many things might be said about how this would affect the American national interest. I will confine myself to a single observation: the course Dr. Kissinger proposes is at least as likely as any other to lead to exacerbated political controversy among the Atlantic allies.

LAWRENCE S. FINKLESTEIN
New York

To the Editor: Dr. Kissinger is right in urging us to adopt a more co-operative attitude toward France. President Kennedy should follow the advice General Marshall gave our Foreign Service officers when he was Secretary of State: "Don't fight the problem, gentlemen. Solve it."

Our nuclear policy toward our NATO allies has, in fact, been too nationalistic in approach. We should realize that leading a western coalition means co-operating with our allies, not just telling them what we think is good for them.

ERNST T. CLOUGH
Boston

DRUG SUPERVISION

To the Editor: Morton Mintz has marshaled the facts that give a resounding "No!" answer to the question making up the title of his article, "New Drugs: Is Government Supervision Adequate?" (*The Reporter*, March 28). He combed these facts from the thoroughly documented hearings before Senator Humphrey's Reorganization subcommittee and our Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee, and from his own prize-winning investigations into the activities of the Food and Drug Administration.

Congress has striven to strengthen the FDA through greatly increased appropriations in recent years, through searching inquiries in both Houses, through financing two Citizens Advisory Committees, and through new legislation, the Kefauver-Harris Drug Amendments of 1962. It is too soon to tell whether the FDA will adequately wield its new powers. I certainly hope so. The press, so ably represented by *The Reporter* and Mr. Mintz, can give them much additional stimulus.

ESTES KEFAUVER
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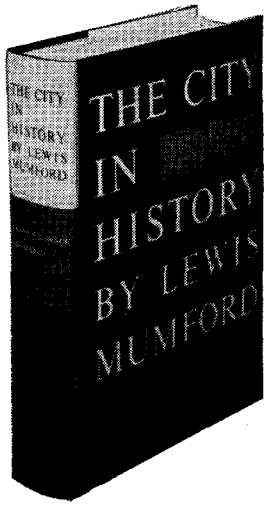

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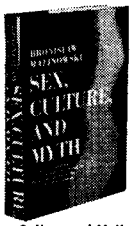

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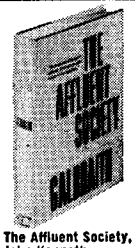

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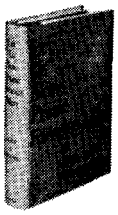

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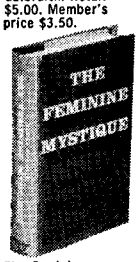

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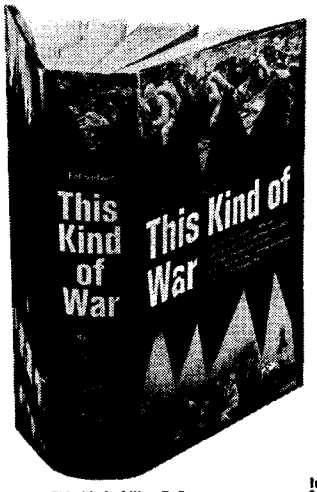

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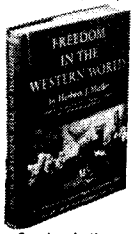

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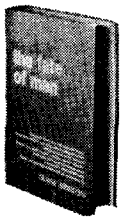

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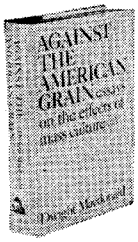

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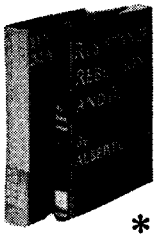

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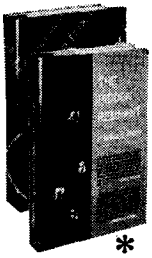

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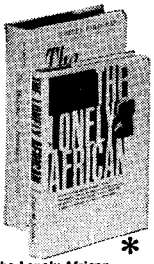

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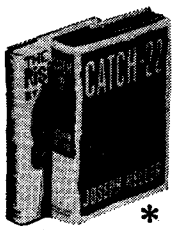

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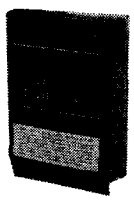

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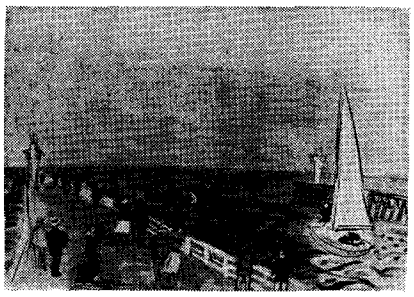

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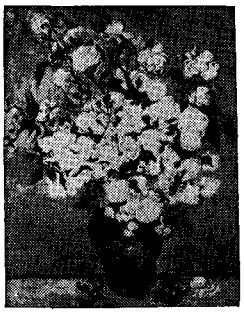

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Who Runs Congress?

"You know," said a soft Southern voice the other day, "Charlie Halleck thinks he won the last election. He didn't. We did, only Charlie doesn't know that yet." The speaker was one of the wise men of the House, a Democrat and a liberal, and his remarks revealed one aspect of the contrast between the public and the private dialogues now being conducted on Capitol Hill. In the public dialogue it was loudly asserted that the administration would find it difficult to restore the $500 million in public-works projects cut by the Appropriations Committee from a catch-all supplemental bill. The private dialogue revealed no anxiety whatever. And in the end the administration scored.

A visitor, having taken note of all the widely publicized comments about the disarray of the tax bill, recently asked House Majority Whip Hale Boggs if there was going to be a tax cut this year. Boggs did not mince words. "Of course there is going to be a tax cut," he said.

Most of the public skepticism about the Congress probably derives from the President's recent espousal of the rhythm method of conducting public affairs. The newspapers seized on the phrase "winter of discontent." The administration, many were quick to point out, was running like a dry creek. This may well be the case, but it would be difficult to prove it by pointing to Congress, which continues in its own immutable ways, making a record that is neither as good nor as bad as some will claim it is.

If Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen chooses to take the floor of the Senate for an hour to expound on the beauties of the petunia, John F. Kennedy is not in a position to do very much about it. When committees dawdle and dicker, fight among themselves, and ultimately oppose the administration, the men in the White House can fume, but that's about all they can do. Who is John F. Kennedy to tell Representative Clarence Cannon what's best for the country?

Of course when the chips are down (as they supposedly were over the public-works vote), the professionals swing into action, and the results of their efforts are not always to be despised. In its effort to restore the $500-million cut, the White House arranged to make IBM machines available to tabulate the number of pork-barrel projects each district would receive under the bill. The machines' findings were later placed in the Congressional Record. Republican Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania (whose state, in the throes of a serious recession, stood to benefit) was summoned to

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D.A.R. Facing Uprising by Anti-Isolationist Wing—New York Times.

Strip off the orchids, dames, and buckle on
The ample breastplates of your ignorance—
The traitors move against you, softly now
In Mayflower corridors, and whisper treason.
So hurry: gird, raise high the ancestral lance
And march against the champions of reason,
While cherry blossoms fall and people smile
At the recurrence of the silly season.

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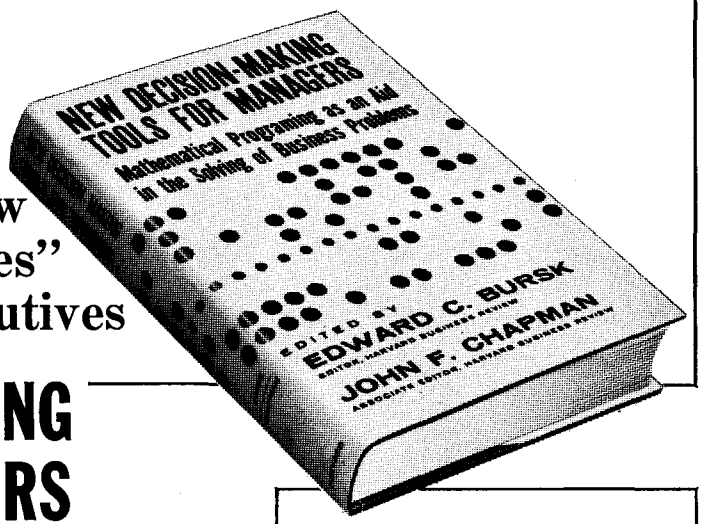
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mobilize what GOP forces he could. The result was a satisfactory, if not overwhelming, majority for the bill.

A reporter perched in the press gallery of the House or Senate is rarely tempted to expect great things of this session. The debates seem so irrelevant these days that a reporter finds it difficult to relate them to anything that is happening elsewhere in the country or in Washington. Issues are being faced, but less openly in public, it seems, than in private. When Majority Leader Albert took the floor of the House the other day to deliver an administration attack on the budget-cutters, only a dozen or so members stayed around to listen. Minority Leader Halleck refused to debate at all, and it was left to Representative Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri to carry on the semblance of a debate. On another occasion, the White House tried to find some supporters in the Senate to challenge Senator Keating at the height of the post-Cuban discontent. They found none—or at least none who could be persuaded to enter the ring with the kind of vigor the White House would have liked. And yet it could scarcely be said that Senator Keating carried the day. That's simply not the way Congress works.

Whatever the public and private dialogues reveal, it is difficult to blame the traditional drifting movement of Congress on the administration. John F. Kennedy, who proclaimed in 1960 that a President should place himself in the thick of the fight, is not now in the thick of Congress and there is no evidence to believe that if he were, matters would be materially different.

Electronic Conscience

We are relieved to learn that the Deputy Secretary of Defense and the Secretaries of the Navy and Air Force will not be required to sign affidavits agreeing to take lie-detector tests in order to demonstrate that they are truthful men. It seems a memorandum that had been locked in a safe over at the Pentagon, even though its contents were not classified, had found its way into a newspaper article. The memorandum, which could scarcely be of much use to the Russians, contained an Air Force officer's assertion that the staff of the Senate subcommittee investigating the award of the TFX airplane contract had browbeaten some of the military witnesses that had appeared before it. Diplomatic relations between the Pentagon and the U.S. Senate had already been severely strained by this issue, and so it's not difficult to see why Secretary McNamara "nearly had indigestion" when he saw the memorandum published after he had consigned it to oblivion—and why he ordered an investigation to find out who was responsible for leaking it to the press. But lie-detector tests? Was that really necessary?

The President thought not, and the Pentagon investigation promptly came to an end. That is certainly as it should be, but the episode still troubles us, especially since one Pentagon official has explained that asking people if they are willing to submit to a lie-detector test is a "regular technique" of military investigations. It's nice to know that the word of some of the highest appointed officials of the government

REJECTION

The familiar words in the Twenty-third psalm "the valley of the shadow of death" have been altered to "the darkest valley" in the proposed new Psalter for the Church of England—New York Times.

No, it won't do. I happen to know the place:
Sunny and fair, but down in the deepest gorge,
In silence, something passes between the sun
And me: a wing, a cloud, a breath
That chokes my own. I know this valley well,
I know this thing to be the shadow of death.

—SEC

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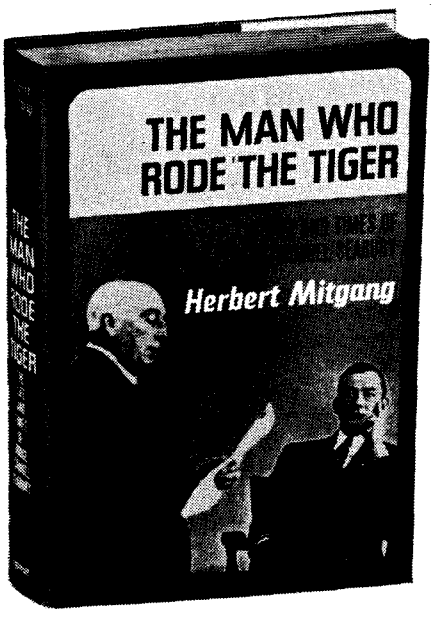

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is held to be as good as their bond. But what about the other people who work for the military establishments? Is what used to be called the honor of an officer and a gentleman only to be taken seriously when corroborated by the testimony of a character witness that can only express itself in jerky lines on a piece of graph paper?

Surely no one would claim that human beings didn't tell plenty of lies back in the quaint days before the development of the electronic conscience. But we are reasonably certain that treating people like potential liars is no way to make them respect truthfulness.

A Dream of Culture

President Kennedy plans to create this country's first Federal Advisory Council on the Arts within the next two or three weeks .... It was learned from a White House source that after two years of deliberation by the President's advisers Mr. Kennedy had become convinced that the country's growing cultural activity needed expert study and guidance.—The New York Times, April 3, 1963.

WASHINGTON, 1968 (UPI)—The Federal Advisory Council on the Arts announced last night that its annual National Culture Award had gone for the fourth consecutive year to Miss Helen Hayes. In honoring Miss Hayes, the council cited her "incalculable contribution to the nation's cultural development," and described her as the "first lady of the American theatre." The award is expected to touch off a new dispute. Published reports that Miss Hayes was a "compromise" candidate again this year could not be immediately confirmed, but a number of council members are known to have fought bitterly on behalf of conductor Leonard Bernstein, who was rejected last year as being "too controversial." In a statement issued shortly after the announcement, the executive committee of the Americans for Democratic Action accused the administration of "giving in to right-wing elements" on the council and failing to exert effective leadership in the arts.

In other developments, the House Republican Policy Committee this afternoon charged that the Arts Council had been guilty of "crass political motivation" and "artistic boondoggling" in its recommendations for construction grants to the states in support of the performing arts. It cited in particular the proposed $2-million replica of a Greek open-air theatre to be built in the town of Elkins, West Virginia. This is not the first time the Republicans have charged that the administration is using the Arts Council to pay off its political debts and to provide employment in distressed areas. Meanwhile, in the Senate, confirmation of Norman Mailer's appointment to the council ran into trouble. In an unprecedented move, the Senate voted unanimously to refer his appointment to the subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.

In closed session, Senator Strom Thurmond (D., South Carolina) continued to take testimony from dissatisfied abstract expressionist painters whose identity he would not reveal. "The only thing we are trying to do here" he said, "is to get to the bottom of this thing. We would like to know why the art market and the critics in New York suddenly turned against them and started promoting so-called 'realistic' paintings of soup cans at the exact same time that Nikita Khrushchev started his campaign against abstract art. We think the American people deserve the facts."

In a press conference following the announcement of the award to Miss Hayes, the council's chairman, Peter Lawford, told newsmen that the report of the President's Special Task Force on Atonal Music would probably be released early next week. Rumors have been circulating in the capitol that the task force will present some disturbing figures comparing musical skills in this country with those in the Soviet Union. It is said to have concluded that unless immediate action is taken, by the early 1970's more Russians than Americans will be able to play the piano. This finding, in fact, is thought to be behind the fifty-hour "piano-play" undertaken by the Attorney General in Constitution Hall earlier in the day. Late reports indicated that he showed no signs of fatigue as he entered his eleventh hour at the keyboard. He is playing the National Anthem.

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A Few Anguished Questions

THIS IS a queer administration, elusive in the way it operates, over-concerned with the image and shadow it projects, ever ready to claim abiding allegiance to a multitude of invariably lofty but not always reconcilable purposes.

Much has been made of how the administration has "managed" the news. Some of the indictments have been disturbing because of the too many instances cited of unseemly pressure on commentators and reporters. The trouble, however, is that this sort of thing is a habit, though scarcely an invention of the present administration. This quantitative increase does not lend itself to statistical documentation.

The chumminess between the chief leaders in the White House and influential purveyors of reflection and information beclouds the public view of the administration's doings. This chumminess is unhealthy both for the leaders and for the press; it leads to timidity in governmental action and in journalistic appraisal. By making a selected number of writers—nearly always the same—privy to the knowledge of the President's mood, the danger of disapproval from the press is prophylactically reduced and the press itself assumes unofficial and irresponsible functions in playing politics and conducting diplomacy. The latest evidence has been the ever mounting campaign against de Gaulle in which all means have been used, including deliberate misinformation. Furthermore, the fact that over and over again the same newspapers under the same by-lines convey strikingly similar or interchangeable comments emanating from the same unidentified high source detracts from the authority both of the source and of the writers.

The unity of the Alliance, indeed the interdependence of its members, has been for months and months among the themes most passionately repeated in Presidential or sub-Presidential exhortations. There have also been declamations about a grand design that so far seems to be at the pre-blueprint stage. Well before Mr. Kennedy's election and ever since, the nation has been told that its economy must by all possible means be made to move ahead. There can be no question about the obvious soundness of such notions. Difficulties arise over how to translate them into operational terms and make them workable day in and day out, not each as an end in itself but as part of a whole that the President embodies and for which he is solely responsible.

The President has been both wise and fortunate in the selection of some of the men to whom he has entrusted major responsibilities. He has proved to be an astonishingly active man whose eagerness to keep on top of events and be informed in every possible detail knows no bounds. Yet it is strange that he has let some of his very best subordinates venture into the realm of supreme national decision that is his and his alone. We have in mind, first of all, Secretary McNamara, a man whose talent for mastering the hitherto intractable issues of military services and techniques has proved unparalleled. The nation has been given a strategy—a capacity to avoid war, to survive and win should war occur—that, in his opinion, is proportionate to our economic means. But the strategy that McNamara has imposed on the armed services cannot be imposed on the Alliance, and even the best calculated strategy is ultimately useless and self-defeating if arrogantly neglectful of inter-allied diplomacy.

Something similar can be said of the role assigned to General Clay in the reassessment of foreign aid. Again the realm is that of diplomacy; again the job is to strike a balance between the need for political defense and our economic means. General Clay's report, without going into its details here, might have been of notable use if quietly discussed in the highest circles of government where national policy is made under the President's direction. Some misspent money will be saved, but such a saving can scarcely compensate for the disarray produced by the disclosure of such a document to the general public—a public composed not only of wholesale aid cutters but of foreign statesmen vitally interested in anticipating the future course of our policies.

ALL THIS LEADS to a series of worrisome Why's. Why so little respect for the public opinion of the outside world on the part of an administration overly concerned with endlessly retouching its image for the benefit of the domestic audience? Why this farming out of enormous spheres of authority to good men who, no matter how gifted, cannot possibly take the responsibility for decisions that can only be the President's? And why such constant bypassing of the legally established organs of decision making such as the Cabinet or the Security Council? Why so much concentration of public attention on the White House—the President, his family, his entourage—as if the projection of leadership were its major reality?

Or can it be that the inordinate difficulty of the demands made by our times on our country are reflected rather than mastered by the President?

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A New Start for the Alliance

EUGENE V. ROSTOW

PRESIDENT KENNEDY has at hand the most promising diplomatic opportunity of his administration. President de Gaulle has precipitated a situation that President Kennedy could in turn transform by starting a new Atlantic program as creative and as farseeing as Lend-Lease or the Marshall Plan. To achieve this end, however, President Kennedy would have to take a fresh tack in the course of our foreign policy.

The French President has proposed a solution to a problem most Americans have been trying to ignore—the effect of the American atomic monoply on the Atlantic Alliance. Instead of anticipating this problem and dealing with it before it became acute, the United States has pretended—and indeed still pretends—that it doesn't exist. I am convinced that de Gaulle's is the wrong solution from the point of view of the common interests of all the western powers. But he is at least trying to answer the right question. His analysis and his solution can only be met and answered by a better analysis and a better solution. That better solution—a further political consolidation of the Atlantic Community—is uniquely within our power to propose.

In politics, as in poker, one's share in the game depends largely on what one puts up. Since the Second World War, the United States has put up a large part of the cost of defending the free world. We have had a decisive voice in the councils of NATO. And while we have preached the need for political co-operation among the allies, we have avoided any commitment that might qualify our liberty to act alone, as we did in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and elsewhere. That privilege, as the Suez affair made clear, we reserved for ourselves.

For some years we have been urging our allies to bear a larger share of the costs of our common defense—except for the costs of nuclear science and technology—and of the costs, too, of aiding the underdeveloped countries. Our allies have in turn requested more direct and responsible participation in the processes of political decison which determine our collective and indivisible fates. Washington has consistently evaded proposals of this order. Indeed, during the Eisenhower administration, President de Gaulle's suggestion that Atlantic unity be consolidated through a political directorate of France, Britain, and the United States was rejected out of hand, without extended consultation or discussion. And President Kennedy, following the Camp David precedent, has moved radically toward bilateral negotiation with the Soviets—a procedure the Russians have advocated since 1945—to the visible discomfiture of our allies. Our diplomacy is shot through with comparable episodes of unilateral action, many of which have had a stunning and a cumulative impact in different countries of the NATO group.

An Obsolete Policy

The pattern of events that culminated in the drama of President de Gaulle's press conference of January 14 confirms the validity of what President Kennedy said so eloquently both in his Inaugural Address and in his Philadelphia speech last July 4—that Europe and the United States are interdependent, and cannot safely face the future unless their interdependence is translated into agreed procedures for continuous

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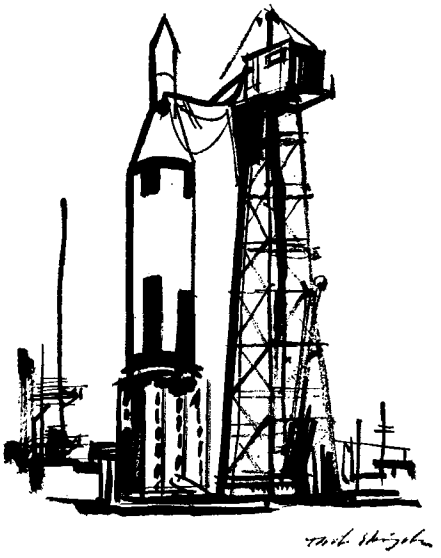
collaboration on the major political problems affecting the Alliance as a whole. The American policy of unqualified freedom of action was defensible, if not necessarily wise, during the postwar period, when we were still the only power capable of deterring the Soviet Union. But the political and economic recovery of Europe has made that position untenable.

The shock of President de Gaulle's move has jarred the western nations, not least the United States. It should help to prepare opinion for indispensable change, and force a reluctant confrontation of reality within the Alliance.

De Gaulle has let it be known that such a confrontation was one of the major purposes of his dramatic press conference and of the position he instructed his representatives to take at Brussels. The great issue of British membership in the new European institutions, strongly favored by the architects of the Treaty of Rome, by the United States, and by most Europeans—indeed, by most Frenchmen—gave de Gaulle the only available weapon big enough to achieve that most difficult of all ends. Yet without a fresh and direct confrontation of reality, specifically including the icons of the American nuclear establishment, there is no way to arrest the processes of division now weakening the West, and no solution of unity for the Atlantic Community. Nothing less drastic than facing the facts could now generate enough momentum to overcome the entrenched resistance of various parts of our government to the very idea of change in our obsolete policy toward our European allies. That policy is still frozen in forms which were appropriate to the circumstances of 1950 but which have become inappropriate to those of 1963.

THE REALITY to which de Gaulle's considered diplomatic step was addressed is that Europe's development since the war requires a new relationship between a politically organized Europe and the United States—a relation of equality. So long as the United States continues to insist upon an unqualified privilege of freedom of action, Europe must assert the same prerogative, and achieve a degree of strength to make it credible. In fact, the notion of such independence is a threat to the security of the United States, Europe, and the whole free world. In the nature of the problems Europe and the United States face in common, they are and will remain interdependent. Their responsibilities require them to continue and indeed to intensify their association, not to weaken it. Europe and the United States—and ultimately Japan, Australia, and New Zealand—are and will necessarily remain the indispensable source of the power, the capital, the skills, and the nerve on which the safety and progress of the entire free world depend. Their association should become one of shared responsibility.

This concept requires, among other changes, full sharing in the whole range of nuclear development. The policies of the Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy administrations in this regard, stemming from the McMahon Act, are now inadequate. Their continuation would be plausible if we were preparing only for a hot war next week. They won't do as the basis of a strategy for conducting a cold war of indefinite duration. A policy based on American nuclear monopoly cannot meet the fears of indefinite dependence on American nuclear strength that President de Gaulle has expressed. Unless we achieve a co-operative Atlantic atomic establishment, a strong effort will be made to organize a European atomic authority. Its pressure would be to separate, not to unite, the two parts of the Atlantic Community. I believe that such trends would weaken the political and military influence of the entire Atlantic group. Thus they would give the Soviet Union a new chance to drive the United States out of Europe, and to achieve at a minimum its goal of a neutral, politically paralyzed, and collaborating Europe.



De Gaulle Forces the Issue

President de Gaulle's January maneuver had two distinct elements. First, he used France's veto under the Treaty of Rome to suspend British membership in the European Economic Community as premature. Secondly, he articulated once more his view that the goal of the European movement is the political cohesion of Europe, and the development of a new relation of equality between a politically organized Europe and its ally the United States.

These two themes are closely linked, strategically and tactically. De Gaulle has been trying for several years to persuade France's five European partners to move ahead in the direction of co-ordinating their foreign policies and defense programs. With characteristic single-mindedness, he put forward a series of proposals whose goal was to establish the nuclei of a European Foreign Office and a European Ministry of Defense. Each time, France's five European partners contended that steps of this order should not be taken without Britain, and preferably should not be taken until after Britain had joined the existing European institutions, so that the British could share fully in making decisions of such fundamental and constitutional importance. Each time, President de Gaulle reiterated his opinion that the essential decisions as to the future political shape of Europe should be taken before Britain finally adhered to the Treaty of Rome and the other "European" treaties, because (in his view) the British did not yet fully understand the political purposes of the European movement and could not be expected to do so for some time. As de Gaulle sees it, the revolutionary change in the British outlook implied by their application to join Europe cannot be

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realized for years, until Britain modifies its relationships with the Commonwealth and the United States and becomes primarily a European power, a member of a closely co-ordinated European political entity. At the present stage, de Gaulle views Britain in part as an American deputy, which would tend to prevent the emergence of truly independent European policies.

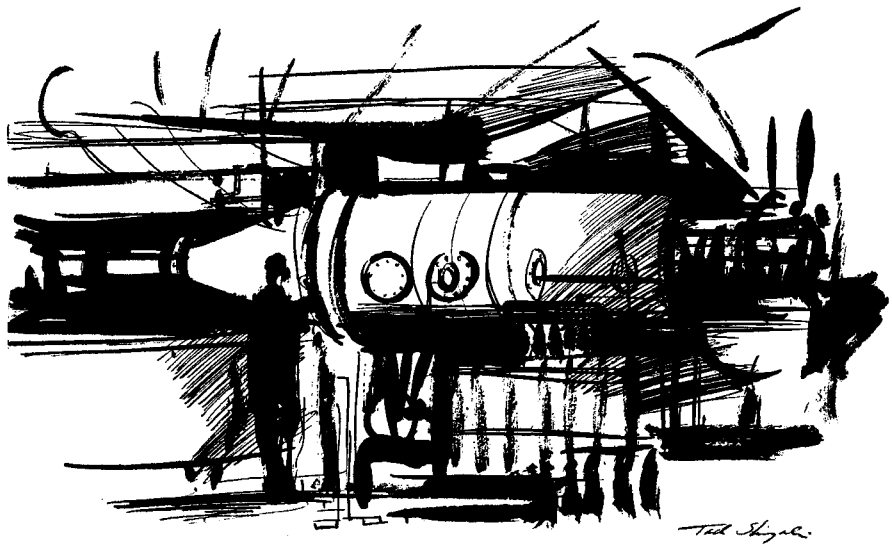
Having failed to win agreement among the Six to successive drafts of his plan for the political organization of Europe, President de Gaulle sought to achieve the same end by another means. He prevailed upon Chancellor Adenauer to join him in a Franco-German treaty intended to provide the essential features for Europe's future political constitution. If this treaty were ratified and put into effect, no European nation could long afford to stay out of the arrangements to be established under it. The heart of the Franco-German program under the treaty is an organized exchange of views among the key personnel of key ministries—a device intended ultimately to lead, in effect, to fused or combined ministries. At that stage, President de Gaulle's program would gain adherents by the force of magnetic attraction, despite the irritations over his recent actions. Such a development would carry forward by a long pace the evolution of Europe as an organized body politic which began with the 1950 Schuman Plan.

One Voice or Two?

Whether President de Gaulle's plan becomes the starting point of the process or another approach is adopted, arrangements for concerting Europe's political influence are very likely to occur. They are the corollary and goal of the European movement that has been one of the marvels of the postwar world, rightly supported from its beginnings by the United States.

At this point, the issue before the West is whether the evolution of Europe as a political body occurs within the framework of strongly developing institutions and procedures of Atlantic unity, or whether it takes place against the background of continued erosion in the relationship between the United States and our NATO partners.

For a decade or more, the forces of division within the Atlantic sphere of power have been at least as strong as the forces of cohesion. Despite the warnings of Indo-China, Suez, and the Congo, the Atlantic nations have done nothing to improve their methods of political collaboration. Even the purely military structure of



NATO has been weakened by the withdrawal of some French forces from its united command. The rapid growth of the European economy around the three supranational European institutions has been a triumph of energy and imagination, greatly strengthening the West. But disparate economic trends in Europe and the rest of the free world could well become a divisive force. And such disparate trends, recently evident in the relative stagnation of the British and American economies, will become chronic unless successful Atlantic and Pan-Atlantic solutions are promptly reached with respect to gold reserves, tariffs and other restrictions on trade, and methods for facilitating the economic and social development of the non-industrialized countries of the Southern Hemisphere. Above all, the structure of the Western atomic establishment, long out of date, is now a danger to the development of western political and military unity.

President de Gaulle's action in January makes it clear that if the West cannot achieve a single voice, it will soon have two. It seems to me altogether possible that within ten years Europe's voice could be quite as influential as ours. The danger in such a course is so obvious that it is commonly ignored. Unless strong institutions are soon developed to keep Europe and the United States in political harness, they could easily nullify each other's influence in world politics. And if we and the Europeans should foolishly allow the present mood of mutual irritation to become chronic, our being at cross-purposes could invite the Soviets to play one half the Alliance against the other, in the pattern of Rapallo, and accomplish irreparable damage.

DE GAULLE'S POINT is a fundamental one. The safety of Europe, he says, will continue to require the Atlantic Alliance; but within that alliance Europe can no longer be a protectorate of the United States. It must take a full share of responsibility for its own defense and for the defense of the free world as a whole.

Thus far, his thesis is one the United States has endorsed for a good many years. The difficulty is that de Gaulle interprets this unexceptionable abstraction quite differently from the authorities of the Pentagon, the State Department, and the White House. For de Gaulle stresses what Washington has been at pains to shrug off—that the French nuclear program is not an expensive joke, a gesture of pride, *a folie de grandeur*. One plausible interpretation of his act is that it was a device to induce the United States to begin negotiations looking to the reorganization of the Atlantic

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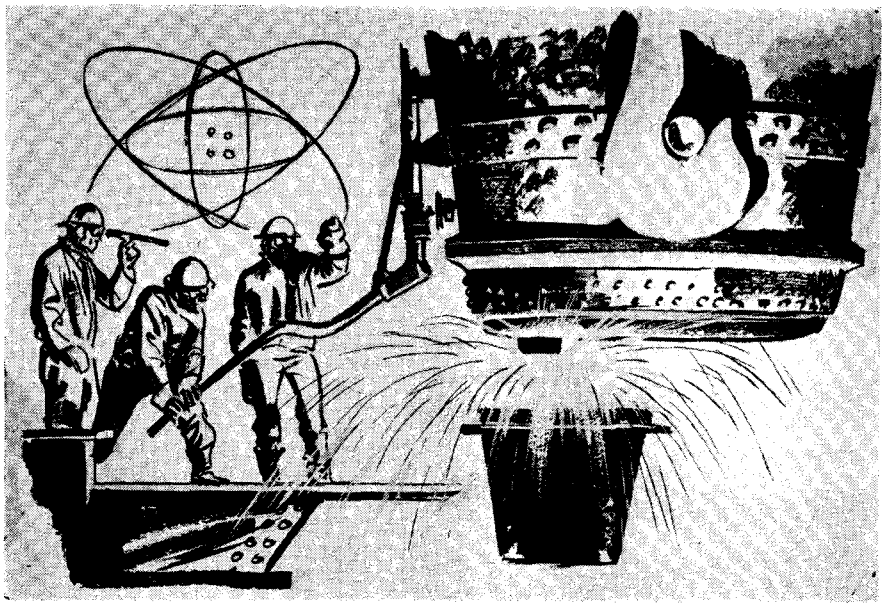

Community. If that aim fails, it would necessarily become the beginning of a process that would seek to achieve either a series of weak national nuclear programs or, more likely, a full-scale European nuclear establishment.

The political idea behind the French effort, as with the British program before it, is not pride or prestige but fear: the nightmare that some day an American President would decide that a Soviet threat which Europe regarded as fundamental was not worth the risk of bombs on New York. The typical American reaction when the question is raised is one of hurt pride. How can Europeans doubt our good faith, we seem to say, after all we have done for them since the war?

The fear de Gaulle articulates is real and universal. It cannot be exorcised by mutual assurances of good will, or by the solemn pledge of a given President. Since the war we have acted without the support of our allies on several occasions, and in the case of Suez we acted against them. We settled the war in Korea without an armistice in Indo-China—a decision whose consequences have scarred France for a generation. We decided alone in October, 1962, to risk general war over Cuba—a decision de Gaulle was prompt to support. And in August, 1961, we decided, basically alone, that the Berlin Wall was not worth the risk of war. What President de Gaulle was saying in effect last January was that so long as we claim such freedom of action for ourselves, the strong Europe of the 1960's must insist on the same privilege.

To this proposition I believe the only sound answer is that of further Atlantic cohesion—an answer long overdue. Today, unlike the period between 1945 and 1963, the development of Europe and the pressure of nuclear science deny both Europe and ourselves such luxurious illusions of sovereignty and independence. Jean Monnet said recently in New York: "You in the United States must realize that the claims of Europe to share common responsibility and authority for decision on defense, including the nuclear weapons, is natural, since any decision involves the very existence of the European peoples. On the other hand, I think the Europeans must understand that the nuclear terror is indivisible and that they too must shoulder an adequate share of the common defense."

First Things First

The realization of our identity of interest in the sensitive area of nuclear science is one of the most difficult as well as most promising of available opportunities to make a fresh start in the Alliance.

The nuclear question is crucial to every phase of the politics of the Atlantic Alliance. That Alliance needs to be re-examined and reconstructed in many respects—commercial, financial, monetary, and above all political. Neither economic nor military co-ordination is a substitute for methods of constant consultation on political problems. But none of these reforms—not even the crucial one of organizing procedures of political co-ordination—can be accomplished in fact, whatever is written on paper, until the atomic problem is co-operatively solved. For the present course of national nuclear competition among the western industrial nations constitutes a threat that would gravely weaken the Alliance, and could even destroy it.

On the other hand, an Atlantic policy for the organization and conduct of western nuclear science, industry, and the military arts offers an opportunity for constructive action. Such an approach would be more effective still if it also included at least Japan, Australia, and New Zealand among the non-Atlantic countries. It could powerfully reinforce other policy steps in helping to build a political partnership of the great industrial nations—a partnership of equality more stable and cohesive than any yet achieved through the various arrangements for western co-operation that have developed since the war.

THE NUCLEAR PROBLEM is central, I submit, to every issue in the life of NATO. It is at the heart of debates about NATO's tactical and strategic problems. Existing rules governing the use of atomic weapons, which center control in the President of the United States, obviously could not long survive an outbreak of hostilities in Europe. After the alarums of 1961, the prospect of diffuse discretion in the hands of the military under such circumstances stimulated a good deal of interest in reorganizing NATO. The atomic problem lurked beneath the negotiations of Britain and the Six in a most explosive form: would Britain's "special relation" to the United States under the McMahon Act be continued, and transferred to Europe, once Britain ratified the Treaty of Rome? Would Britain then be free to pool its atomic science, some of which derives from the United States, in a European atomic establishment? And the idea of Germany and Japan following France into the nuclear club gives urgency to pro-

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posals for European, Atlantic, or Pan-Atlantic solutions of the problem.

Both the Eisenhower administration and that of President Kennedy, leaving the atom largely to atomic experts, have misjudged its politics. And both have been reluctant to undertake the difficult task of examining the premises and the modalities of the McMahon Act. President Kennedy's offers to assign nuclear weapons to NATO control and Secretary McNamara's speech in Ann Arbor last June are interpreted abroad as proposals of "nuclear colonialism." Their implication for Europeans is that the United States would be in effect the sole important western center of atomic science and technology, at least for those branches having military potentialities, and the sole producer of atomic weapons. While American policy would still explicitly prefer that Europe concentrate on conventional forces and leave nuclear weapons to the United States, we have rather patronizingly proposed jointly controlled nuclear forces, supplied with American weapons, as a concession to the restlessness of allied opinion on the subject. Since transfers of this kind would be a discretionary act on the part of the United States, such programs would leave Europe as dependent on American supplies as the British were on Skybolt. They do not therefore deal with the real issue, and can make little or no contribution to its solution.

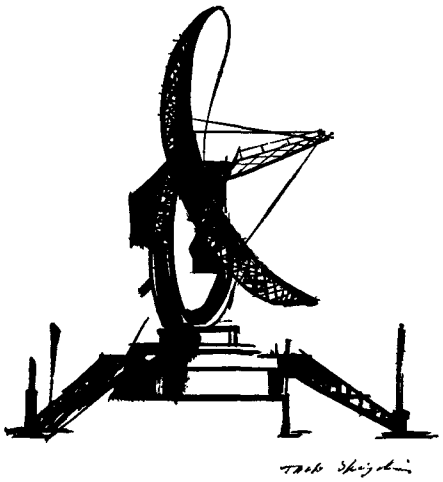
The Europeans and, indeed, the Japanese of the 1960's and 1970's will not, cannot, and should not accept complete military and political subordination to the United States. We ourselves should not want to be in so vulnerable a position. The Europeans and Japanese could not long tolerate being considered the peasants and foot soldiers of the forces of freedom while we hold the modern weapons. Paternalism of this kind is never popular, however benevolent. At best, its continuance would increase the tensions within the Atlantic Community. At worst, it could lead to European and Japanese neutralism, and to a new, frustrated brand of U.S. isolationism.

So long as we remain on our present nuclear course, the Europeans will insist, as the British do, on being in a position to force our hand—to start a war they think we should have to finish. The past, present, and future of American foreign policy do not permit any other approach on the part of the allies who are as loyal to the Alliance as we but must also protect their own security as best they can.

Under these circumstances, it is my belief that the reality of our interdependence should be jointly recognized and jointly organized through institutions and procedures that would strengthen Atlantic cohesion and require a genuine sharing of responsibility and power. The atomic problem, like several others, should be susceptible of an Atlantic solution, not separate American and European solutions.

It seems to me that the European solution for the nuclear problem which Henry A. Kissinger has cogently urged in *The Reporter* of March 28, though preferable to the present race of competitive national programs, would make the Atlantic Alliance progressively more vulnerable to Soviet approaches based on the appeal of Europe as a neutral "third force." It would needlessly divide us, while an Atlantic or Pan-Atlantic solution could powerfully reinforce the trends of unity.

One may well ask why it is more dangerous to western security for Europe or the separate European nations to make nuclear weapons



than to have armies, navies, or air forces. To this basic question there are several answers. The first is that strategic nuclear weapons differ from conventional weapons in many ways, among others because there is no way to identify their source. If bombs fell on New York, we should assume that they were of Russian origin. And if bombs fell on Moscow, the Soviets would surely assume that they were ours. Any strategic use of such weapons would be a signal for general war. Secondly, Europe is now far behind the United States and the Soviet Union in the development of nuclear science and nuclear military technology. Political events may seriously weaken the base of the Atlantic Alliance. A combination of Gaullist attitudes and Pentagon decisions to dismantle American bases abroad may weaken the shield of influence (including the presence of American conventional forces) now protecting Europe from Soviet pressure. If some such conjuncture of events occurred, Soviet pressure could be exerted effectively to prevent Europe from becoming a significant Third Force, nuclear or otherwise. Whatever the tensions within the Alliance might be once Europe achieved nuclear parity, the risks would be ominous during the transition period, if the American presence in Europe were reduced and not yet replaced by a credible European force.

For a New Atomic Authority

As Dean Acheson has recently pointed out, a truly independent European foreign policy, backed by the threat to create an independent European nuclear force, would be equally damaging to Europe and to the United States. For Europe, he contends, it could lead only to Soviet hegemony. And it would offer the United States the worst of alternatives—no share in the early stages of a conflict with the Soviet Union, and no alternative but all-out atomic war at the later stages. To such a dilemma various answers could doubtless be found—all disastrous. It is infinitely preferable, through the steady consolidation of the Atlantic Community, to keep the Soviets from excessive temptation, and thus avoid both conventional war in Europe, possibly involving the use of tactical atomic weapons, and all-out atomic war in the Soviet Union and the U. S.

The starting point for an Atlantic and then a Pan-Atlantic nuclear policy is atomic science and the atomic industry, not the control of a

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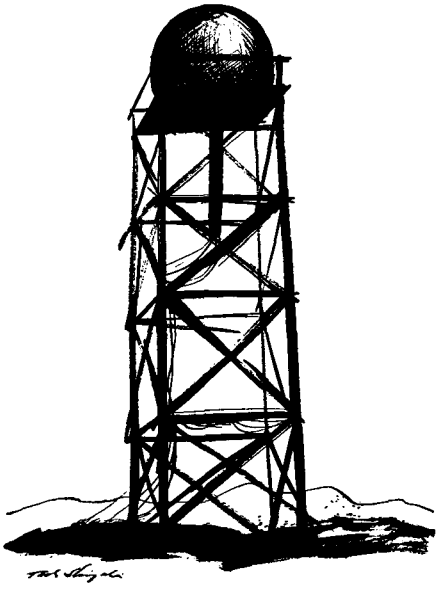
few atomic weapons doled out from time to time to international forces. The weapons are far less important in the long run than the science and industry that produces them.

We should never forget that many foreign scientists worked at Los Alamos, which was in effect an international project on American soil. Many of the men and women who contributed most directly to its success were Europeans, several of them refugees or visitors who came over during the war.

WHAT I should like to propose, in the interest of initiating thought about ways to achieve Atlantic cooperation in the field of nuclear science and technology, is that we reexamine and reconsider the principal idea of the Baruch plan of the late 1940's: common ownership of the crucial instrumentalities of atomic technology by an international institution under the joint control of the participating western nations. Such an approach would recognize the Atlantic Community's atomic science and technology for what it is in fact, a common facility of the free world, but one jointly owned, financed, controlled, and directed by the participating nations.

Many, probably most, of the installations owned by the Agency would be in the United States, and would continue to develop here for obvious reasons of safety and convenience. But all the facilities, wherever located, would be under joint control. Qualified scientists of all the participating countries would have equal opportunities in the work. Europe and Japan would share its costs with us, and its fruits. The risk of a separate German or Japanese atomic establishment would disappear. A good deal of talent now unavailable could be drawn into the effort. We should be better able to avoid the technological hazard of committing ourselves to a single approach, with its implications of sterility and stultification. The present isolation of American atomic science and technology, reinforced by much criticized rules of secrecy, is not a fruitful base for its continued growth.

The approach of common ownership would not of itself solve the problems of allied strategy and military organization. But it should help to make their solution more possible. The directors of an Atlantic nuclear authority could hardly decide what weapons to manufacture until the governments they represented had agreed on what needed to be done. On the other hand, the existence in the future of two large nuclear establishments within the Atlantic Community—one of them European and the other American—would tend to stimulate and perpetuate differences of view about strategy and tactics, for each establishment would have a vested interest in differing from the other and in proving itself right. Such a state of competitive tension is normally as great



an advantage in the military realms as it is elsewhere, as the ample history of resistance to innovation attests. But the risk of political disunity implicit in the existence of two atomic establishments within the Atlantic Community outweighs in this instance the chance of more rapid technical advance. The directors of the authority should be capable of finding means to encourage and support a diversity of approaches in research and technology without paying the price of duopoly, or "dumbellism," that President de Gaulle's press conference so painfully dramatized.

Many difficult problems would arise in drafting and negotiating a treaty to accomplish this purpose. To what extent, for example, should the possibility of national action in extreme cases and of national efforts in related areas of science survive the formation of the international body? On what terms could such a body be dissolved? How would weapons produced and owned by an international facility be allocated to military forces for possible use? Manifestly, the problem of an international nuclear military force would have a completely different aspect in the perspectives of the proposal I have outlined than it has today.

NOTING a few problems of this order may help to highlight the fundamental differences between the political consequences of an Atlantic atomic establishment, on the one hand, and of separate American and European establishments, on the other. They parallel and mirror the broader dilemma plaguing the West: that of accepting the successful emergence of the New Europe without splitting the indispensable alliance. As M. Monnet has rightly stressed, the lesson to be drawn from the success of the European movement as it approaches the political stage is the necessity of joining Europe and America—and ultimately other nations—into a close and stable association, formed through what he calls "the extraordinary transforming power of common institutions." And M. Monnet went on to say: "Almost every time since the war that the countries of the West have tried to settle their problems separately, they have suffered reverses. But when they have moved together, they have opened up new opportunities for themselves. The reason for this is that today all our major problems go beyond national frontiers. The issues raised by nuclear weapons, the underdeveloped areas, the monetary stability of our countries, and even their trade policies all require joint action by the West. What is necessary is to move toward a true Atlantic Community in which common institutions will be increasingly developed to meet common problems."

In January, 1962, the Atlantic Convention, a private citizens' group made up of men and women of the NATO countries, met in Paris, under the chairmanship of former Secretary of State Christian Herter. The delegates had been named in most cases

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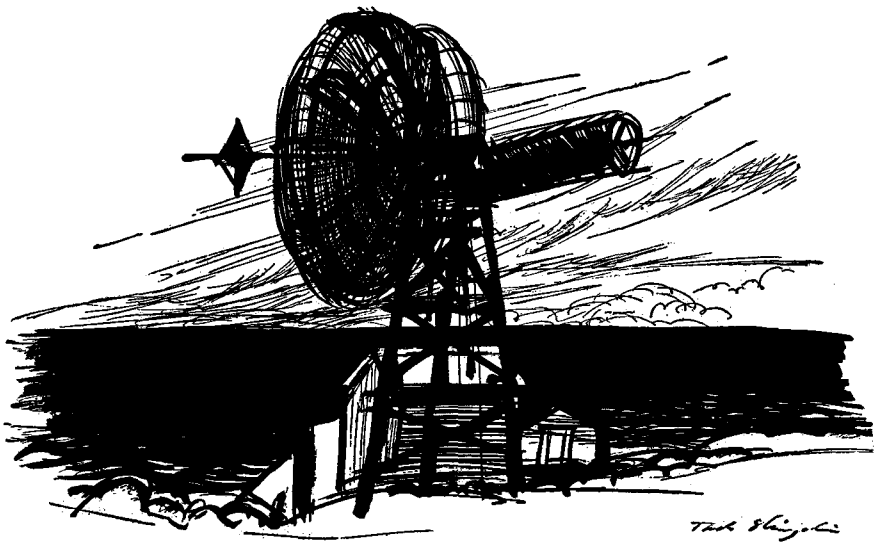
by their national parliaments. The resolution approved by the convention, called the Declaration of Paris, took account of all four areas of western co-operation—military, political, economic, and nuclear. With regard to these fields, and that of education and cultural development as well, the Declaration of Paris called for the creation within ten years of "a true Atlantic Community," expressing in political forms the growing interdependence of the Atlantic peoples. And it recommended the appointment of a special commission, representing the governments of the NATO nations, to prepare a program for the purpose.

Our government should take the lead in carrying out this recommendation.

Meanwhile, and without fanfare, we should begin informally to achieve the principal end of such a program—the co-ordination of political goals and policies among the leading members of the Alliance. The government has long been urged to organize processes of continuous consultation involving key members of the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, Agriculture, and Commerce, and the corresponding officials in Britain, France, and Germany. Such consultations should culminate in regular meetings of the responsible ministers. They might be planned and staffed by a small group of high-ranking civil servants from the countries involved, in the successful pattern of the wartime Combined Boards.

No lines of action available to our foreign policy could more effectively improve our security as a nation.

WITH the apparently endless postponement of hopes for a nuclear and disarmament agreement, we should acknowledge that the time has come to develop a nuclear program utilizing all the resources of the Atlantic Community. Perhaps action along the lines I have suggested could at long last persuade the Soviet leadership that a genuine disarmament agreement is as much in their interest as it is ours. Nothing less than an effective political consolidation of the Atlantic Community offers any real promise of achieving a stable equilibrium in world politics.



Taking Stock of Europe's Nuclear Defenses

HANSON W. BALDWIN

APRIL IN PARIS has offered this year an apparent thaw in Franco-American discontent.

Talks between President de Gaulle and Secretary of State Rusk were variously described as "warm" or "cordial," and there were accompanying hints that France might welcome U.S. aid in developing its nuclear deterrent force and that this force could be "co-ordinated," when it exists, with a NATO nuclear deterrent.

The Paris talks coincided with the assignment on March 30 of the first of three U.S. Polaris submarines to the Mediterranean and with test flights of France's supersonic light attack bomber, the Dassault Mirage IV, as Paris prepared its own unilateral national nuclear deterrent. These contrasting weapons systems and divergent military and political concepts graphically illustrated, despite the Paris thaw, the disarray of the Western Alliance.

The present impasse in NATO is largely attributable to the nuclear near-monopoly that the United States has exercised in the West, a monopoly limited only by the special nuclear position that Britain has occupied with U.S. support. Washington's past insistence on blackballing the French application for membership in the nuclear club has led directly to the current imbroglio.

When the French military nuclear program started, about 1955—indeed as recently as four years ago—France might easily have been induced to join in organizing a common NATO nuclear effort, if only it had been granted the same special position as Britain. But Washington tried to put off the day of reckoning, and by 1960 the French nuclear program had progressed so far that all we could do was to help or hinder it; we could not prevent it. For some reasons of twisted "statesmanship," we have chosen largely to hinder. Yet the French nuclear deterrent will almost certainly be operational before any real multilateral NATO deterrent is ready—if ever one is developed.

The 'Force de Frappe'

What are the French and the NATO programs?

The French nuclear development plan started soon after the war and

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its military application was greatly accelerated and broadened after President de Gaulle took power, especially after his bid for a triumvirate to control nuclear weapons and direct the affairs of NATO was ignored by Washington. It merged two plans—for nuclear development and for reorganization and modernization of the French armed forces—and projected a two-stage timetable: the first stage ends in 1964-1965; the second, less clearly charted, in 1968-1971.

The French atomic program is not limited to one weapon or one system, and it represents a major nation-wide effort. The military reorganization is similarly "across the board." From one million men in uniform in 1962, the armed services will be cut to less than 700,000 in 1970, and military service has been reduced from a high of 27½ months during the Algerian war to eighteen months, to be accompanied by tactical reorganization and weapons modernization.

The contemplated nuclear weapons systems range from nuclear bombs delivered by piloted bombers (the Mirage IV) to battlefield missiles comparable to our Sergeant and Honest John field artillery rocket, with ranges from fifteen to ninety miles. Eventually, piloted interceptors with air-to-air rockets are to be replaced by anti-aircraft missiles with nuclear warheads like our Nike Hercules, and piloted bombers will be replaced by land-based medium-range missiles, plus sea-based missiles equipped with thermonuclear warheads.

The phase of the French program that has aroused most controversy concerns the creation of the so-called *force de frappe*, or striking force, with strategic or long-range capabilities. This force would be able to strike at Soviet targets from bases on French soil or from waters off the coasts of Europe.

The *force de frappe* is already well on its way to its first goal. Operational models of the Dassault Mirage IV bombers or fighter-bombers are now undergoing flight tests. A small number of these planes—perhaps nine—will be ready, the French say, by the end of this year. By 1965, there are to be fifty in the *force de frappe*, each capable of carrying a sixty-kiloton nuclear weapon.

France has conducted six nuclear tests in the Sahara, and Minister of the Armed Forces Pierre Messmer recently announced that sixty-kiloton nuclear bombs would be ready for the Mirage aircraft in this and future years.

THE FRENCH *force de frappe* has been criticized by Secretary of Defense McNamara and other U.S. officials who say that it was technologically obsolete before it was built and that because it is militarily useless it has no political importance. But if these contentions are true, then a considerable part of the United States strategic-tactical nuclear delivery system is also obsolete. The Mirag has a range of 1,500 to 2,200 miles, capable of one-way flights to many Soviet points, or two-way flights with air refueling. The French are now being permitted to purchase—after much backing and filling by Washington—twelve KC-135 tanker aircraft to extend the range of the Mirage and to increase its strategic flexibility. The twin-jet bomber is capable of flying a variety of "profiles"—high- or low-level or a combination of approaches. Indeed, the Mirage is based upon much the same concept as our Republic F-105 fighter-bomber, where "the pilot goes along for the ride," the Navy's A-5 attack bomber, and the Mace winged missile—all of which form a prominent part of the U.S. nuclear-delivery capability in Europe. Even SAC's bombers, the B-47 and the B-52, utilize the same low-flying tactics to escape detection.

Soviet air defense, particularly in radar and ground-to-air missiles against both low-flying and high-flying aircraft, has been tremendously improved since the U-2 first flew undetected over the skies of Russia. But the huge extent of the Soviet frontiers makes impossible anything like a perfect defense, particularly against low-flying high-speed aircraft.

The Mirage IV has some pronounced limitations and weaknesses. Its "skin" surfaces and some of its structural members may have to be strengthened to meet the stresses of low-level high-speed flight. Its range is restricted. Its quantity—fifty aircraft—is limited. Its bases are vulnerable to Soviet missiles. Nevertheless, its deterrent effect is definite and positive. For no Soviet air defense commander can possibly promise Khrushchev a hundred per cent kill rate, even if the French *force de frappe* fights alone.

Thus, the first stage of the *force de frappe* is certainly not obsolete today, and will probably not be obsolete within the projected French time frame. The French expect to extend the life of the Mirage by providing, for instance, nuclear-tipped air-to-ground missiles for "stand-off attacks." Even so, the French view the Mirage as an interim weapons system to be replaced, beginning about 1968-1970, with land-based and sea-based missiles.

'Minimum Deterrent'

The first French thermonuclear test is planned tentatively for next year, possibly in the Indian Ocean. Mr. Messmer said recently that the French thermonuclear program was ahead of schedule and that the first hydrogen weapon would be ready in 1967 or 1968. Other experts think this is optimistic. By 1968 to 1970 the French expect to have a small number of medium-range ballistic missiles, and about the same time they hope to commission the first of three nuclear-powered submarines. Ultimately the French expect to have a modest nuclear-delivery capability based almost entirely on quick-reaction, or solid-fueled, land-based and sea-based missiles more or less invulnerable to surprise enemy attack.

The first phase of this program will soon be a reality. Later stages may be altered or delayed, but today the French are well on their way toward development of a unilateral national nuclear deterrent that would have a good chance of destroying Moscow and/or other Soviet cities no matter what the Russians did.

It has been said that the bombing of a Soviet city would expose France to the overpowering retributive nuclear wrath of Russia. This is true. But it does not invalidate the value to France of such a deterrent, even though it is a minimum value. The major point to understand about the French *force de frappe* is that unlike the U.S. force, it is not designed to "win" a nuclear war—merely to discourage attack. It represents a "mini-

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mum deterrent." Moreover, the *force de frappe* has only one finger on the trigger—a French finger—and there is no doubt that possession of this military power adds political weight to de Gaulle's voice, not only in Moscow but particularly in the councils of NATO.

Admiral Dennison's Hats

The NATO nuclear deterrent, as envisaged by the Kennedy administration, embraces two different programs. One—the so-called *multilateral* program—contemplates internationally integrated nuclear units. The other program—the *multinational* one—anticipates the assignment to NATO of national forces (such as the units of the Strategic Air Command) manned solely by one nationality.

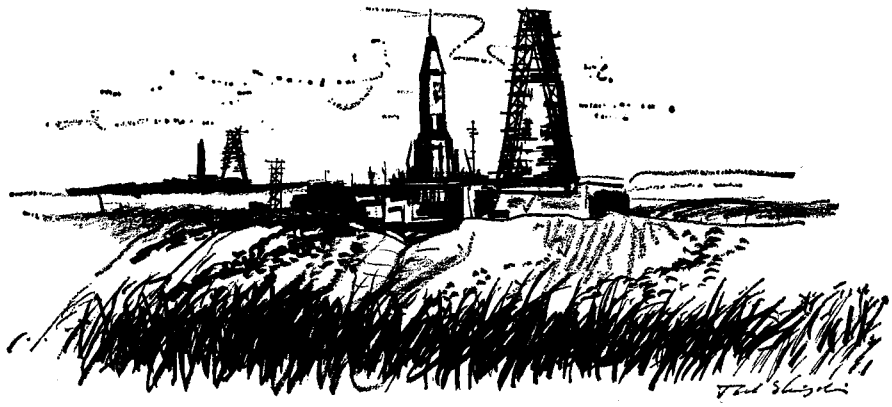
A multilateral NATO nuclear deterrent based on missile-firing submarines has many attractive features. A nuclear deterrent based under the sea does not attract nuclear retribution to populated areas. A nuclear-powered submarine can remain invisible and mobile and less vulnerable to enemy surprise attack than any other missile system. It does not require quick reaction time; one can wait for the full definition and interpretation of enemy intentions before pulling the trigger. When the 2,500-nautical-mile A-3 Polaris is ready within the next two years, missile-firing submarines will be able to reach any target on earth; today, their 1,200- and 1,500-nautical-mile missiles give them the capability of destroying nearly all western Soviet targets from the Norwegian Sea or the Mediterranean.

Ten of these submarines are now in commission, of which nine have been patrolling in the Norwegian Sea on regular tours of fifty-six days submerged from the base at Holy Loch, Scotland. Each is equipped with sixteen missiles; each missile carries a warhead of about 0.6-megaton power, and the power will increase as the weight-yield ratio increases. Eight more will be added to the fleet by July 1, 1964. All of these submarines are now manned by Americans and operated and controlled by the United States. The NATO part of the deterrent—though much has been made of it—is so far a euphemism.

In May, 1962, Washington announced that five of our Polaris submarines operating in the Norwegian Sea had been "assigned" to NATO. Though this "assignment" was much publicized, it had little real meaning. The five submarines remained under the command of U.S. Admiral Robert L. Dennison. Operationally, the submarines are controlled directly by Admiral Dennison in his capacity as U.S. Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic. Their targets are assigned in co-ordination with NATO; in time of war these five submarines will presumably be under Dennison in his other capacity as NATO Supreme Commander, Atlantic, but their targets will be the same no matter what hat Dennison wears, and their control will still be American. There will be only one finger—Washington's—on the trigger.

Nor is the joint targeting procedure really new. Under the impetus of former Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, targeting procedures were improved and targets are now constantly revised by a Joint Targeting Committee, including representatives from all global commands, at Strategic Air Command headquarters near Omaha.

The announcement on January 24 of the assignment of three Polaris submarines to the Mediterranean follows much the same pattern. This arrangement preserves full U.S. control and weakens rather than strengthens NATO multilateral control of strategic forces in the Mediterranean. For the Polaris submarines are replacing the forty-five Jupiter land-based intermediate range missiles emplaced in Italy and Turkey. These liquid-fueled missiles have a long countdown and were sited in the open on unprotected pads, and hence were vulnerable to surprise attack. The Polaris system is far more modern, in a military sense. But politically the sea-based missiles will be less under NATO or Italian or Turkish control than the land-based missiles, which were controlled by a two-key arrangement (U.S.-Italian and U.S.-Turkish) and were under a NATO command chain.



Moreover, the base of the Mediterranean submarines will be, at least initially, Holy Loch, Scotland—1,525 miles from the Mediterranean. Italy, with its large Communist minority, is chary of providing a base for missile submarines. Spain, where the U.S. maintains a naval base at Rota, has set its price too high.

In recent weeks more serious difficulties have been brought into focus and it now appears that a NATO submarine fleet manned by mixed crews of many nationalities may never become reality.

A submarine is a tricky and complicated instrument that requires perfect teamwork by carefully selected and trained crews. The penalty for a mistake can be disaster. To the normal submarine hazards add nuclear power, with its small but undeniable potential dangers, and a whole array of powerful missiles backed by incredibly complex supporting equipment, and the prospect of crews drawn from different nations filled U.S. submariners with horror.

A Polaris submarine can be built in an American yard in two to two and a half years (starting from scratch, it would probably take about

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twice as long in an European yard). It takes as long or longer, in U.S. experience, to train the key specialists in the crew—the skipper and executive officer, the engineering officer, the nuclear reactor personnel, and the missile experts and electronic maintenance men—than it does to build the submarine. These experts might be furnished at first by the United States, but ultimately, if multiple manning were to have any meaning, they would have to be provided, at least in part, by Europe.

U.S. Navy experts are agreed that no more than twenty per cent of a mixed crew should be non-American, and there should be only two nationalities besides the Americans. Ultimately, American personnel might be gradually withdrawn and replaced by trained British seamen. But, they believe, the same approximate ratio—no more than three nationalities, with one nation providing the majority of the crew—would still be most effective and most desirable. The process of selection and training—first as individuals, then as a mixed crew—would probably require a total of four to ten years the experts estimate.

To itemize the difficulties of multiple manning for a Polaris submarine fleet is in effect to doom the project, as Washington discovered. Ambassador Livingston T. Merchant, who was recalled from retirement to help develop a NATO deterrent, has been advocating the substitute idea of surface ships armed with Polaris and manned by crews of three nations. The missile-armed surface-ship concept is not new. During the Eisenhower administration, the Navy sought to arm the nuclear-powered cruiser *Long Beach* and other vessels with Polaris, but the civilian bosses in the Pentagon were never persuaded that the idea was worth the cost. Now the concept has been revived in modified form with German support.

Surface ships equipped to launch missiles, converted from suitable merchant hulls, have some advantages and some disadvantages *vis-à-vis* submarines. The safety hazards inherent in submarine operations and in nuclear propulsion would not pertain to the conventionally powered surface ship. Fewer experts would be required and the selection and training problems would be simplified. Surface vessels, moreover, are not so vulnerable as most observers believe. They are mobile and hence cannot be sunk by ballistic missiles, which cannot change trajectory once they are launched. They could cruise in waters shallow enough to handicap enemy submarine operations. They could cruise near other merchant vessels, thus presenting the enemy with a problem of identification. They could use radar decoy devices to "hide" from enemy detection.

Second Best for Europe?

But as Mr. Merchant has discovered, the European members of NATO also see certain disadvantages. First, surface vessels clearly are more vulnerable to neutralization or destruction than are submarines; hence Europe tends to regard a surface-ship fleet as a second-best deterrent. Second, the cost differentials as compared to submarines are not so favorable as many had hoped. A twenty-five-ship force of converted merchantmen to carry about two hundred Polaris missiles has been suggested. Cost estimates, none of them official, have ranged from $2 to $6 billion, spread over a decade.

Judging from the somewhat lukewarm reception of the merchant-fleet deterrent concept in Europe, most of the European NATO members seem to feel that the price is high for a deterrent which has been described as "too little and too late," and which has been rejected for American use by the Pentagon. Europe is aware that the U.S. formula calls, at least initially, for a U.S. veto over use. When the projected deterrent became completely ready some ten years from now (long after France had its own national deterrent in full operation), NATO would have a force inferior in technical capabilities to either the U.S., the British, or the French national forces, and its ultimate control would still be vested in Washington. Thus Washington's grudging and second-best offers to share its nuclear power with our NATO allies have lost much of their psychological value, which was, indeed, their primary purpose.

Washington is still continuing, at least on paper, the development of a mobile intermediate-range missile for land-based use. The supporting tactical atomic weapons in Europe, which have all along been under U.S. control (except for a few British weapons), will apparently remain *in statu quo,* though there is some vague talk of withdrawing these weapons from division level and of grouping them all under a special NATO command—a proposition as alarming to U.S. Army experts as the multimanned submarine is to the Navy.

At the moment this is as far as Washington's famous multi-manned or multilateral NATO nuclear deterrent has gone. Whether it will ever grow beyond the blueprint stage is questionable. To do so it must surmount the greatest obstacle of all—the avowed opposition of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy to sharing our nuclear secrets with other powers. Yet such sharing —both actual sharing of technical details and the sharing of actual control over the weapons—is essential to the development of any multilateral NATO deterrent. Without it, and without heavy U.S. financial support, the entire project is doomed. The Joint Congressional Committee's opposition helps to put the entire scheme in a straitjacket: if we promise too much, Congress will not approve; if we give too little, Europe will continue to be only perfunctorily interested.

Britain's Independent Force

Washington has also been pursuing a parallel but related program—the multinational one. The Nassau agreements, which took the Skybolt away from Britain with one hand, gave the Polaris with the other. The effect was to perpetuate Britain's special preferred nuclear position *vis-à-vis* the United States, but at greatly increased cost to Britain, and with so many built-in caveats, delays, and doubts that the same proposition offered to France proved chronologically, economically, militarily, and politically unattractive as compared to France's own deterrent. Indeed, the doubts, delays, and costs may doom the British project, particularly if the Labour Party, on record as opposed to a British nuclear deterrent force, takes power.

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Britain is planning to build four Polaris submarines by 1968-1972 with extensive U.S. help at a cost of about $700 million. These are to be manned entirely with British crews and will also be "assigned" to NATO, but can be "withdrawn," or utilized for purely British national purposes, if "supreme national interests" dictate. Thus the finger on the trigger will be British only, despite pretensions to the contrary.

In the meantime the British expect to extend the life of their V-bombers, now deprived of the Skybolt, with the Blue Steel, a short-range stand-off missile, and to develop—as the French are doing—a low-level attack bomber with a new stand-off missile.

At the same time the British have "assigned" their 150 to 180 V-bombers to NATO, and the United States has agreed to "assign" (that meaningless word again) some of SAC's strength to NATO. The Germans, not to be outdone, have offered to "assign" their F-104 fighter-bombers to NATO. Some of these aircraft and crews are being, or will be, trained in tactical nuclear delivery techniques. Finally, at Paris earlier this month, the U.S. proposed that two squadrons of French F-84s be added to the NATO deterrent force. But like the German planes, these squadrons, which are stationed in Germany and have already been trained by the U. S. in nuclear delivery, would carry only American bombs under American control, so that this "assignment" too has only symbolic value.

Thus in place of the sixty "two-key" Thor missiles—manned by the Royal Air Force with nuclear warheads controlled by the United States—to be removed from Britain by the end of this year, England will develop a combined piloted-plane, sea-based, unilaterally-manned deterrent, with a single British "key" controlling missiles and warheads, and assigned to NATO *pro forma* only. But Britain will pay far more for this new form of deterrent than it would have done for Skybolt, and the end product will be long delayed (if indeed, it is ever fully developed), all at the expense of the conventional force we have been trying to get Europe to strengthen.

Thus, the British at this juncture find themselves committed to a plethora of defense projects, most of which the Labour Party has promised to disavow if it comes to power, and all of which are collectively a great strain on Britain's financial capabilities. These are London's current commitments in principle:

¶ Increase of the British Army of the Rhine to 55,000, along with modernization.

¶ Participation in a NATO mixed-manned, multilateral nuclear-deterrent force.

¶ Equipment of Britain's V-bomber force with stand-off missiles, and eventual replacement of the existing force by a new aircraft equipped with new missiles.

¶ Construction of an entirely British-manned Polaris submarine force.

¶ "Assignment" of the last two forces to NATO command.

In fact, the British national force will differ from the French *force de frappe* only in kind and degree, not in ultimate control, which in both cases is purely national, and in the fact that Britain is producing it with our help, France largely on its own.

Where the Deterrent Stands

The much-touted NATO deterrent—"Merchant's Mixmaster"—therefore now shapes up vaguely as follows:

¶ A multilateral sea-based, and perhaps ultimately land-based, nuclear deterrent, crewed partially or entirely by European nations with many fingers on the trigger.

¶ A series of national, unilaterally manned nuclear deterrents—so far, the U.S. and Britain, crewed by one nation, and "assigned" to NATO, but in the last analysis, with only one national finger on the trigger.

¶ In addition, unassigned to NATO, will be the overwhelming bulk of U.S. nuclear-delivery power, answerable solely to Washington, and the small national nuclear deterrent of France, answerable only to Paris.

The United States will therefore have what amounts to a veto power over the *collective* use of the so-called NATO forces—both those unilaterally and multilaterally manned. Britain, when "supreme national interests are at stake," and France at all times, will control the destinies of their own nuclear forces.

This is certainly a convoluted and shaky structure. It appears to be even more shaky when one examines the background of the recent Merchant discussions. The lack of enthusiasm for Washington's ideas has been marked; the agreements, "in principle," leave nearly all the vital details, especially the issues of cost and command and control, to be worked out.

It is clear that the "off-again-on-again" American policies have not been well thought out; they seem to have come about through a process of groping in public. The danger of our nuclear monopoly and our re-

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sistance to the real control of nuclear weapons by other NATO powers has always been the isolation of either France or West Germany—a danger that now looms large.

WHERE WE GO FROM HERE is very far from certain. The basic dilemma we have faced right along—a dilemma that has as yet no solution—is that no effective means has been found for multilateral command and control of a NATO nuclear force. Command by committee is never satisfactory, least of all within the quick-reaction framework of modern war. Many fingers on the trigger mean paralysis, or alternatively the increased danger of diffused responsibility.

Another dilemma now shapes up as a major one: unless the United States pays the costs, a NATO nuclear deterrent in any form is likely to be very expensive for our European partners. When all the cost figures are in, they may decide that the cost will be worth the slightly increased integration and the possession of a slightly louder political voice. But if they do, they are very unlikely at the same time to strengthen their conventional forces, which has long been the U.S. objective.

Perhaps the greatest hope for the future lies in the development of a series of national nuclear-deterrent forces that in time may blend into a European minimum nuclear deterrent. The process is already well started in France and in Britain. If the Nassau Conference had not occurred, Paris and London might have been on the way to some kind of technical-strategic rapprochement by now. To many allies and to the Russians, the specter of Bonn in charge of its own national nuclear deterrent is fearsome. Yet no alliance has room for second-best allies or discriminatory practices. A really co-ordinated multinational European nuclear deterrent, keyed to the two principles of collective European control without an American veto and of minimum deterrence, probably offers the best hope for tomorrow. It is time to recognize that President de Gaulle has a point, to shift our emphasis to co-ordination rather than integration, and to attempt to influence, rather than to control, Europe's nuclear future.

AT HOME & ABROAD

Laos: The Settlement That Settled Nothing

STANLEY KARNOW

LAST JULY 23 the fourteen-nation Geneva Conference established a "truly neutral" Laos, and to the United States and the Soviet Union, both anxious to avoid "the wrong war in the wrong place," it seemed that a solution of sorts had been found for the most confused, exasperating problem east of the Congo. Now, almost nine months later, civil war between the Pathet Lao and neutralist troops has broken out again in violation of the military truce, and the country seems closer to a *de facto* partition than to neutrality.

Composed of leaders from the country's three factions, the Laotian government is supposed to blend these contending forces into a unified state. The nominal head of this coalition is the prime minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma. In principle at least, his function is to harmonize the competing ambitions of his rival deputies, his pro-Communist half-brother Prince Souphanouvong and General Phoumi Nosavan, the former CIA protégé who is usually labeled "right-wing." Bringing these quarrelsome elements together was in itself a prodigious exercise that involved everything from international pressure to sheer bribery. But their association, seemingly a sign of progress, has obviously not resolved their deeper antipathies, and there is no visible likelihood that it will. This is a "troika" with built-in weaknesses. One shortcoming is the personality of Souvanna Phouma himself. A placid, pipe-smoking aristocrat whose principal passion in life is bridge, he can be disarmingly naïve and easily swayed. Moreover, in an alliance of feudal barons, each as strong as the army he controls, Souvanna Phouma is at a distinct disadvantage. His only internal military support is General Kong Lae's group of not more than eight thousand troops, currently under attack by the Pathet Lao on the Plaine des Jarres, a plateau north of Vientiane. With cruel accuracy, local wits call

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Souvanna Phouma an "oriental impotentate," and even more tactful diplomats submit that he is a prime minister in name only.

By contrast, Souvanna Phouma's younger vice-premiers have demonstrable power. With an army of about fifty thousand, General Phoumi occupies the Mekong River Valley; as concurrent minister of finance, he has a firm and lucrative grip on the treasury. His security police maintain a tight hold over Vientiane and, as in the past, he can count on a certain amount of help from his cousin, Marshal Sarit Thanarat, the prime minister of Thailand. For his part, Prince Souphanouvong has some nineteen thousand men of the Pathet Lao controlling about four-fifths of the country, and his Neo Lao Hak Xat is the only real political movement in Laos. His pipeline runs direct to Hanoi in North Vietnam, and he is backed up by an estimated ten thousand North Vietnamese troops who, despite international accords for the evacuation of foreign forces, are still scattered throughout the Laotian hinterlands.

The 'Double Troika'

Prince Souvanna Phouma's position is further enfeebled by the incapacity of the Geneva signatories to give him much more than theoretical guarantees. The International Control Commission—composed of an able Indian chairman and Canadian and Polish delegates—is supposed to make sure that the Geneva accords are fulfilled by investigating instances where Laotian neutrality has been violated. But this international "troika," like the Laotian government, is severely handicapped both by the political composition of its membership and by staggering administrative complexities.

The ICC can perform its duties in two ways. It can be requested by the Laotians to inspect an area where, for example, foreign troops are allegedly present. To be effective, however, this operation requires that the government in Vientiane unanimously agree on the need for inspection. Otherwise, when the premier asks for an ICC inspection, as Souvanna Phouma did on April 8, there can be no assurance that troops of one or another faction will allow the ICC to enter their territory. Inspections initiated by the ICC itself run into similar difficulties. It can decide to make an investigation of its own by majority vote, but any conclusions or recommendations it may make afterward must win the approval of all three delegates—no easy trick with the Canadians and Poles holding divergent political views. A request to undertake any mission must be submitted to the Laotian "Committee for the Implementation of the Geneva Accords," where it must win unified approval from rival political factions. If the committee concurs, the request moves up to Souvanna Phouma's cabinet, where it again requires unanimous agreement if complete freedom of travel is to be guaranteed. Finally, before the ICC team can actually fly off in its helicopters, it must file an operational plan listing passengers, their area of inspection, and other such details. Thus an expedition to ascertain if there are North Vietnamese cadres in, say, the northeastern stronghold of Samneua could take months of preparation, by which time the intruders could have packed up and moved safely to Hanoi. In fact, when the ICC investigated Samneua recently, they found no North Vietnamese.

If the "double troika" system can do little to prevent violations of Laotian neutrality, it is equally helpless in carrying out the more positive provisions of the Geneva Agreement. Virtually no progress has been made toward integrating the troops of the three factions into a single army of thirty thousand men, nor has anything been done to fashion a 1,200-man constabulary out of the rival police forces. General Phoumi claims, quite reasonably, that he is not yet ready to create an unemployment problem by demobilizing more than half his army, and of course Prince Souphanouvong will not consider discharging his soldiers until Phoumi has made a move in that direction. Since the only political movement in the country is under Pathet Lao aegis, the chances of elections within the foreseeable future are similarly slim. Freedom of movement within Laos, another principle set down at Geneva, is also far from a reality. Even Souvanna Phouma cannot travel into areas controlled by the Pathet Lao without its permission, which until now has not been granted. Indeed, the only step toward unity taken recently will create a minor economic headache. On February 10, the three factions agreed to legalize some 750 million kip issued by the Pathet Lao. Putting this worthless currency into circulation will further inflate the kip, whose value has dropped by more than half in a year.

THE RECENT apparent stagnation of Laos was deceptive, for political forces were quite busy. In the far northern provinces, a Chinese Communist road-building program has been under way for more than a year, and it is strategically significant. Two roads, both emanating from China's Yunnan Province, are being slashed into the mountain jungle of Laos. One will lead to the border village of Muong Sing and run southeast from there to Nam Tha, where it will link to the road to Ban Houei Sai, on the sensitive Thai frontier. The other will reach the northern town of Phongsaly, and it may be continued on to the North Vietnamese outpost of Dienbienphu. A route through Laos joining China and North Vietnam would assure Communist hegemony in that area, and there is evidence that more than mere communications are being built. According to intelligence sources, many of the ten thousand coolies engaged in road construction are also stockpiling arms and ammunition in the region.

This long-range Chinese project is being matched by mounting Pathet Lao efforts to overpower Kong Lae's neutralist forces. In many instances, the pro-Communists have been buying off neutralist troops, most of whom have not been paid for more than six months. It is believed, for example, that Kong Lae's former aide, Colonel Deuane, was bribed to shoot down an American airplane carrying rice to the Plaine des Jarres last November. The Pathet Lao has been luring away lesser neutralists with money, and those who cannot be bought can be killed. On February 12, while he was showing a movie at his house on the Plaine des Jarres, Kong Lae's second in command, Colonel Ketsana Vongsonavanh, was shot in the back. His replacement

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was shot on April 2, the day after the assassination of Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena.

Kong Lae's Reprisal

The murder of Quinim, a political opportunist who had been the mentor of Kong Lae but later threw his support to the Pathet Lao, may have been in reprisal for Colonel Ketsana's death. It was the immediate cause of renewed hostilities between Pathet Lao units and Kong Lae's forces on the Plaine des Jarrés. As chairman of the Committee to Implement the Geneva Accords, Quinim was instrumental in obstructing the International Control Commission's operations. Many Laotians allege that he instigated pro-Communist dissidence among Kong Lae's troops and ordered the assassination of Colonel Ketsana. On several occasions Kong Lae openly accused Quinim of betrayal.

It was probably on Kong Lae's instructions that a nineteen-year-old lance corporal, Chy Kong, was sent from the Plaine des Jarres last month to head Quinim's security guard. On the evening of April 1, when Quinim returned from a formal party, the corporal riddled him with eighteen machine-gun slugs. The Communists immediately charged that the assassination was the work of "foreign imperialists." The young soldier confessed that he had performed the murder because Quinim aimed to double-cross the neutralists and overthrow the coalition.

The intimidation tactics and renewed fighting are regarded as part of a Pathet Lao offensive to occupy the strategic Plaine des Jarres region. They are also considered a step by the Pathet Lao to absorb the Laotian neutralist troops, thereby reducing Souvanna Phouma's strength and making him a vulnerable figurehead. Although he is a political simpleton, Kong Lae has been able to perceive the Communist design. Once an ally of the Pathet Lao and a frequent visitor to Hanoi, he has recently begun to speak out against "left-wing elements serving . . . foreign interests." But to observers who have examined the position of his troops in the area, there seems to be little Kong Lae can do to counter the Pathet Lao. The Plaine des Jarres is a plateau surrounded by hills. The pro-Communist force, armed with heavy artillery, dominates the high ground overlooking the neutralists, and can squeeze them by cutting their supplies, most of which are trucked in through Communist-held territory. The United States, after ignoring Kong Lae back in August, 1960, when his grievances against a corrupt government prompted him to stage a coup that served Communist interests, is now making a belated attempt to provide the general with aid. Without irony, a prominent American said not long ago, "We want the little fellow to know that somebody loves him."

THE AMERICAN mission in Laos is also trying to help more than 125,000 hill tribespeople who are also under pressure from the Pathet Lao. Unconcerned with ideologies, many of these mountaineers—particularly those of Meo stock—were trained and supplied by American Special Forces operatives to fight against the Communists during the closing months of combat in Laos. While General Phoumi's regulars retreated and even fled in battle, these rugged warriors held their positions and are widely credited with having salvaged much of the territory not in Pathet Lao hands at present. Now in refugee areas, they are being flown some fifteen hundred tons of supplies per month, partly as recompense for their past services, partly to discourage them from switching allegiance.

In an effort to isolate these tribal groups, the Pathet Lao has been noisily agitating against American relief operations. Pathet Lao spokesmen have repeatedly asserted that the supply missions are being flown by "paramilitary agencies" in order to "arm bandits and commandos." United States officials have refuted these charges, denying that any weapons or ammunition are being sent to the refugees and pointing out that the relief program was undertaken at the request of Prince Souvanna Phouma. The Communist propaganda, however, has not been entirely ineffective; it seems to have had some influence on the impressionable mind of Souvanna Phouma himself.

Chartered from Air America and affiliated with Formosa-based Civil Air Transport (which had its origins in the late General Claire Chennault's famous Flying Tigers), many of the aircraft and civilian crews used in the refugee relief program are the same that supplied General Phoumi's troops in earlier days. Indeed, several of these pilots—and perhaps the aircraft themselves, from the look of them—are veterans of the Indo-China war and the war in China before that. They will transport almost anything anywhere for a price, and nowadays they are flying rice, medicine, pots, pans, and other such innocuous items. Recently, however, Souvanna Phouma allowed himself to be persuaded that Air America's past record somehow made the organization currently suspect. The Russians had given him nine airplanes and a helicopter complete with crews, he pointed out, obviously intimating that the United States should match that gift. American officials tried to explain that the refugee program was financed directly by the United States and did not cut into aid to Laos. But this argument was unsuccessful and finally, late in January, the Laotian government was given two American airplanes and was leased two more—and provided with crews, maintenance personnel, and funds to keep them operating. Souvanna Phouma was appeased, and though he said nothing publicly, American diplomats revealed that he had "expressed appreciation."

The Dollars Behind the Kip

Despite political or military infiltration and subversion by Communist elements, the United States has one trump card in its hands: its aid alone keeps Laos from total bankruptcy. Outside of opium, which does not figure on the visible trade balance, Laos exports almost nothing. But it imports more than $15 million worth of food and manufactured goods annually, almost all of it financed by American credits. In 1963, the United States will furnish Laos with $33.5 million in aid, the major share of it earmarked for roads, educational facilities, public-health plans and rural development projects, and a portion of it to cover the import of commodities. The counterpart money generated by the local sales of these imports is used

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to support the government—and these days the Pathet Lao is part of the government. In fact, Prince Souphanouvong himself is minister of economic affairs, and he is shrewd enough to recognize that the hand that feeds him should not be bitten. It is perhaps noteworthy that the announcement of American aid to Laos as reported by the Peking and Hanoi radios was delivered without a single reference to "imperialists."

But whether Prince Souphanouvong and the three other pro-Communists in the government cabinet really control the Pathet Lao is a current subject of speculation. Several western observers who claim to be able to see into the shadows of the movement are inclined to feel that its effective leaders are Kaysone Phomvihan and Nouhak Phoumsavan. Partly Vietnamese, forty-two-year-old Kaysone was educated in Hanoi, served with the Vietminh, later commanded the Pathet Lao army, and is reported to dominate the pro-Communist military units. Nouhak, a man of fifty-three, is of peasant origin and is said to be the leading figure in the Pathet Lao's political movement, the Neo Lao Hak Xat. To these men, inflexible and dogmatic, the bankruptcy of Laos would rightly mean only the collapse of the urban economy. The countryside, where the bulk of their power resides, is largely self-sufficient. Unlike Souphanouvong, who appears to be convinced that Laos will evolve its way in more or less parliamentary fashion, the tougher Pathet Lao leaders favor deterioration as a catalyst to their take-over.

To some degree or another, both groups within the Pathet Lao are aware that United States military intervention in Laos would complicate their aims. There is no doubt too that the Soviet Union, hesitant about involvement in so remote an area, would like to avoid that possibility. But if the Russians are believed to be sincere in their desire for a neutral Laos, why haven't they persuaded their "clients" within the country to be more co-operative? It has been suggested that the Soviet Union, as a co-chairman (with Great Britain) of the Geneva Conference, could be prevailed upon to urge the Pathet Lao to show a greater spirit

of compromise in the unification program. The Russians could also conceivably unravel some of the complicated rules under which the International Control Commission must function, and give this watchdog group a higher degree of flexibility. But whether the Russians exercise much control over the Pathet Lao at this point is a matter of conjecture. Like their American counterparts, Soviet aircraft flying supplies upcountry have been peppered by ground fire, presumably from Pathet Lao units. More important, the wisdom of confronting the Russians with their responsibilities in Laos is a subject of some debate, especially in American circles.

The Delicate Balance

From their experience at Geneva and from subsequent indications, many diplomats are convinced that the foreign Communists most deeply and immediately concerned with Laos are the North Vietnamese. At the Geneva Conference of 1954, when the world Communist bloc was united behind Soviet leadership, the North Vietnamese had no choice but to acquiesce to Russian pressure for what, to them, was a disadvantageous settlement of the Indo-China war. Since then, however, the Sino-Soviet rift has given the North Vietnamese bidding strength. However much material assistance or moral backing they get from Moscow or Peking, the North Vietnamese need be nobody's puppets. By skillfully playing both sides in the Communist bloc dispute, they have been able to assert their own position on Laos. As Annamites have for centuries, the Vietnamese want a sphere of influence to their west. At the moment this means, among other things, stationing their troops in Laos, even in violation of the Geneva Agreement.

In this delicate diplomatic web of strands within strands, one "activist" school contends that the Russians should be put on the spot and openly embarrassed into fulfilling their obligations as Geneva co-chairman. A less forceful group, on the other hand, argues that the Russians should be helped to circumvent any actions that might, by appearing to crack down on the North Vietnamese, tilt the latter into the Chinese camp. This group further submits that the Russians are really a restraining influence in Laos, and that the price of their salutary presence in the country is their appeasement of Hanoi.

The killing of Quinim was symptomatic of neutralist efforts to resist growing Communist pressure. The assassination, in turn, incited the Pathet Lao to intensify its harassment of Kong Lae's troops. Thus, in a gradual way, the situation in Laos is becoming polarized and Souvanna's chances of remaining in the middle are diminishing. Perhaps through Soviet and American agreements he can be saved and Laotian neutralism can somehow be propped up. But on the ground in Laos, Pathet Lao encroachment on the Plaine des Jarres is inevitably leading to partition.

HOW LONG the delicate balance of forces in Laos can be maintained is impossible to predict. With no immediate alternative in view, American policy continues to support Souvanna in the hope that he can somehow unify the country. After all, it is argued, Souvanna's strength lies in his weakness, which makes him acceptable to all factions. If the princes' coalition collapses, however, military occupation of the Mekong Valley—perhaps by American troops—would seem inevitable, both to reassure the Thais next door and to secure the partition of Laos that in fact already exists. In his original attempts to make of Laos an "anti-Communist bastion," the late John Foster Dulles assigned to this primitive land a goal it could not possibly attain. The years of blunders in Laos that followed cannot be undone. They add up to a gloomy, uncertain future for the country. As a veteran U.S. diplomat in Vientiane remarked not long ago: "If all fails, we cannot rightly say we lost Laos when we never really had it to lose."

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The Widening Gulf Between Mao and Khrushchev

DONALD S. ZAGORIA

MAO TSE-TUNG has issued a new Communist Manifesto, a ringing call to all pure Communists throughout the world to join him in a struggle to the finish against the revisionist leadership in Moscow. The hundred-thousand-character indictment of Khrushchev's heresies published in Peking on March 4 depicts the present ideological struggle as one of such basic principle that it can end only by the rout of Khrushchev and his followers. In effect what Mao has done is to issue the call for a new "colonial International" led by himself, which would place primary emphasis on revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The provocative nature of this Maoist declaration of ideological independence can best be illustrated by a quotation: "Don't some people frequently say that we ought to 'synchronize our watches'? [Khrushchev used that phrase in 1959 in Peking when he appealed to the Chinese to support his leadership.] Now there are two watches. One is Marxism-Leninism . . . and the other is modern revisionism . . . Which is to be the master watch?"

The manifesto calls the debate the third historic struggle in Communist history, comparing it to Lenin's struggle with Kautsky and Bernstein and Stalin's fight against Trotsky and Bukharin. Since Lenin split irrevocably with the first two and Stalin executed Bukharin and exiled Trotsky, it is clear that the Chinese Communists see their present struggle with Khrushchev as a fight to the finish, even if for tactical reasons they invited the archheretic himself to Peking.

What a Meeting Might Accomplish

This maneuver was consistent with the tactics the Chinese Communists have often used against the "imperialists," namely, setting the stage for bargaining with a big push to show that they are well prepared for further hostilities if negotiations fail. The invitation to Khrushchev was, moreover, not a Chinese initiative but a reply to a Soviet letter calling for a cessation of public polemics, and for talks between the two parties. Nothing in the Chinese reply provided the slightest hint that Peking was prepared to give way on the vital issues.

Khrushchev is under no illusions that the ideological gulf with Peking can be bridged by a meeting or two. This was shown on April 2 by his rejection of the Peking bid and his counterproposal of a meeting in Moscow about May 15, perhaps at the level of high party officials. The Soviet reply, moreover, was uncompromising in its insistence on the correctness of the Soviet positions, and its firm tone suggests that after some indecision in Moscow, the Russian leaders are now prepared to risk an open break with China. However, the Russians and Chinese may have some common ground in a mutual desire to try to set limits on the conflict. For example, they probably both want to stop short of a break in diplomatic relations and ultimately of a break in their military alliance. A bilateral meeting will probably explore that mutual interest, and it is even possible that the Russians will make a few gestures to improve state relations, perhaps by making some concessions to Albania.

In any case, it seems likely that a series of discussions between the two parties will be inaugurated soon. The negotiations could last a long time and might succeed in lowering the present fever pitch. The Chinese have proposed that "existing differences that cannot be settled immediately may be laid aside pending later settlement." By holding a series of meetings, Russia and China may in fact temporarily avoid an irreparable break, but it is open to doubt that they will be able to arrive at a lasting compromise. Increasingly they are maneuvering against each other, seeking to avoid the blame for the coming split, and lining up support from the smaller Communist Parties. Both sides appear to be playing to the galleries rather than seeking a compromise. Also, there is the increasingly categorical nature of the Chinese demands and claims: Mao increasingly speaks the language of one who believes that he must himself take up the leadership of world Communism if the movement is not to drift slowly toward disaster. His claim that Chinese policies have been consistently correct and his editorial on February 27 in the Chinese party newspaper demanding that Moscow apologize to China and to Albania are typical of his intransigence. Moreover, since

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inviting Khrushchev to Peking, Mao has renewed his attacks on "Yugoslav revisionism."

THIS INTRANSIGENCE is not a whim of the moment. Mao's revolutionary concept reflects a fundamental difference in outlook from Khrushchev's. It is deeply rooted in differing national conditions and experiences and particularly in differing relationships with the United States. China is weak, frustrated, and isolated, thwarted much more by U.S. military, economic, and political power than is Russia. Unlike Russia, China is a long way from the goal of great-power status. Nor has China even achieved some of its most urgent national goals, such as reunification. The very legitimacy of the Chinese revolution remains in doubt so long as an alternative régime backed by the United States occupies Formosa. For such reasons, which have no analogy in the Soviet situation, China for the past several years has sought to transform its national weakness into strength by utilizing the international Communist movement as a means of weakening the nation that stands most in its way, the United States.

To begin to achieve some of their goals, the Chinese leaders required four things of the Soviet Union: a massive dose of capital investment and substantial help in developing a strategic nuclear-weapons system; a greater share in decision making in the international Communist movement; considerable Soviet backing for Chinese foreign-policy goals in Formosa, India, and elsewhere in Asia; finally, a radical shift in Soviet strategy that would result in the fomenting and support of revolutionary wars throughout the underdeveloped areas, thereby forcing the Americans to divert and squander their power.

The Russians have refused to give in on any of these demands because to comply would mean indefinite postponement of any substantial rise in Soviet living standards and possibly the risk of serious popular disaffection, a greater risk of war with the United States, and a weakening, if not the loss, of Moscow's pre-eminent position in the Communist world. Given the fundamental incompatibility of many vital Soviet and Chinese interests, Mao will probably continue to be intransigent until there is some evidence that Khrushchev or his successor will give him the support he needs to make China a great power. In this connection, there are several indications that Mao's power position in China is stronger than Khrushchev's in the Soviet Union. For example, Mao has felt strong enough to publish most of the attacks made on the Chinese party by Khrushchev and his allies, whereas Khrushchev has not allowed a full airing of the Chinese argument in Soviet media. This does not imply the existence of a "China lobby" in the Kremlin, but it does suggest that Khrushchev is fearful that an open airing of the Chinese case in the Soviet party could only weaken his hand. Indeed, the Chinese claim that Khrushchev has gone so far as to jam Chinese broadcasts to Russia.

Mutual Incompatibility

The incompatibility of the Soviet and Chinese concepts of Communist unity is another major obstacle to any compromise. The Chinese have repeatedly called for a world-wide conference of Communist Parties and the Russians have repeatedly stalled. The Chinese are convinced that once the other parties, particularly those in the underdeveloped areas, understand the logic of their case, a case which they justifiably feel has been distorted by the Russians, the balance of power within the Communist movement will slowly pass to them. The recent movement of the North Vietnamese party from a neutral to a pro-Peking position will certainly strengthen the Chinese hand. Indeed, one of the most interesting developments of the past year is the increasing support the Chinese are picking up among the Communist Parties of Asia and Latin America. At the recent meeting in Tanganyika of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, the Chinese evidently succeeded in taking the initiative away from Russia, which, Peking argues, is not even an Asian power.

Many of the smaller parties—particularly in underdeveloped areas—are clearly dissatisfied with Russian leadership of the world movement, and this dissatisfaction provides the Chinese with leverage on the Russians because it raises the spectre of a Communist world divided largely on racial and color lines.

Until Peking becomes strong enough to take over leadership of world Communism, it wants a permanently institutionalized minority faction within the international movement. The Chinese concept of unity, in short, is one in which the minority faction they head will maintain a veto power over Soviet diplomacy and continue to press its views against the will of the Soviet-led majority, on the ground that the Soviet majority is only temporary. To put it another way, the Chinese conceive of international Communist meetings much as the Soviets conceive of meetings of the United Nations—as forums for propaganda and arenas for struggle pending the day when they are able to dominate the organization.

Naturally, the Russians are not interested in holding periodic international conferences that would be used by the Chinese to undermine Soviet leadership of world Communism. The Russians would prefer to handle their relations with other parties on a bilateral basis. Conferences provide opportunities for the smaller parties to coalesce and to demand from the Russians greater support in pursuing their local objectives. Increasingly, the Russians are put on the defensive at such meetings because they have to justify their foreign policy to parties whose interests frequently conflict with their own. Thus, the only basis on which the Russians are apt to agree to the Chinese request for another world-wide conference is a Chinese pledge to abide by the decisions of the majority. Peking is not likely to give such a pledge or, if it does, to live up to it.

ANOTHER REASON for believing that the rift will eventually widen is the recent record. There have been three crises in Sino-Soviet relations in as many years, each of them lasting longer than the previous one, and the grounds for compromise have become increasingly narrow. The first crisis, which began in the fall of 1959, reached its climax at the eighty-one-party Moscow Conference in 1960. That conference was followed by an uneasy truce, which

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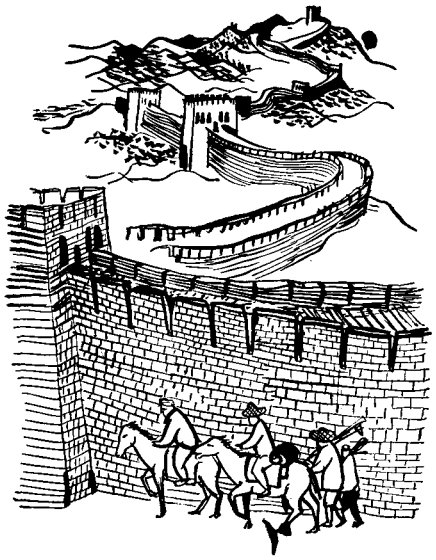
Khrushchev broke at the Twenty-second Party Congress in October, 1961, by excommunicating the Albanian party in a surprise move obviously aimed at Peking.

The second crisis was also followed by a short-lived truce. It began about March of last year when five of the smaller parties, probably led by the North Vietnamese, sought unsuccessfully to bridge the gap between Moscow and Peking and ended with Khrushchev's rapprochement with Yugoslavia last summer and the Soviet commitment to send a squadron of MIG-21s to India and to help India manufacture supersonic aircraft engines. In late October the Chinese attack on India was greeted by the Russians, after some initial hesitation, with disapproval. At about the same time, the Chinese accused the Russians of selling out Cuba to the imperialists.

Just as they had done two years earlier in response to similar Chinese attacks on their policies, in November the Russians began to mount a heavy counteroffensive probably designed to intimidate Peking. In rapid succession, party congresses in Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany were utilized by the Russians as forums for attacking Peking via satellite proxies. At the East German congress, the Chinese representative was jeered, booed, and hooted at, and the translation of his speech had to be stopped. For the first time the satellite leaders made direct references to China rather than to unspecified "dogmatists," and the Soviet press accused the "dogmatists" of "subversive actions against the international Communist movement." By early January it began to look as if Khrushchev were going to top it all off at the East German congress with a final warning to Mao. Instead, Khrushchev backed down. He called for a cooling-off period and publicly acknowledged for the first time the uselessness of excommunication: "It does not befit us to proceed like churchmen and engage in 'excommunicating' from socialism."

This surprisingly conciliatory move was similar to the one Khrushchev made in the fall of 1960, when the conflict seemed to be heading for a dramatic climax. Thus, Khrushchev's bluff has been called twice by Mao and it seems clear now that Soviet pressure tactics and intimidation have no chance of success against the Chinese.

Perhaps sensing weakness in the Soviet position, the Chinese at once began to mount their strongest attack to date, which culminated in the March 4 declaration. In one of the most revealing of these attacks, the Chinese responded to Soviet taunts about the continued presence of the British in Hong Kong and the Portuguese in Macao by asking the Russians whether they really meant to have a "general settlement" of all the unequal treaties "forced upon China by imperialism" in the nineteenth century; they specifically mentioned a number of treaties signed between China and Czarist Russia. This provided vivid insight into the deep nationalist feelings of the Chinese leadership.



No Compromise on Tito

One of the biggest obstacles to any Sino-Soviet *modus vivendi* will be Yugoslavia. The rapid progress toward readmission of Tito into the Communist fold does not imply any substantial change in Tito's position but does imply a substantial change in Khrushchev's. At the East German party congress, with a Yugoslav delegation in the audience, Khrushchev said that it was possible for Communist states to diverge even on important ideological questions. The basic question is "who owns the means of production, who holds the power, and on what lines the state is developing." Thus, Khrushchev was redefining the criteria for membership in the Communist camp in the broadest conceivable manner. By moving so close to the broad Yugoslav concept of relations between Communist states and parties, Khrushchev may hope that he can eventually satisfy Peking as well as Yugoslavia and all the smaller parties eager for greater tactical autonomy and independence. But the immediate effect can only be to worsen the chances of Sino-Soviet rapprochement, inasmuch as Mao has made it clear that he will not be a part of any Communist fraternity which includes the "renegade" Tito and that he regards any move in that direction as further evidence of a Russian drift toward the reefs of revisionism.

From a tactical point of view, however, Khrushchev's rehabilitation of Tito may be a shrewd maneuver against Peking. If Mao continues to insist that Khrushchev take the initiative to improve his relations with Albania, Khrushchev can counter by insisting that Mao do the same to improve his relations with Yugoslavia. The smaller parties of international Communism, which may assume increasing prominence as arbiters of the Sino-Soviet dispute, will probably be sympathetic to such a Khrushchev maneuver, since few of them care one way or another about either Albania or Yugoslavia. Their main concern is to avoid a split, which would be disastrous for most of them because it would lead to splits in their own parties. In any case, it seems certain that Yugoslavia is now another intractable problem added to the long list that Moscow and Peking must try to resolve. It is difficult to see how either Khrushchev or Mao can compromise on this issue, since it is a question of both principle and prestige for both.

The accumulated bitterness of the past four or five years will not be swept away by a few meetings. Communist China will never again put itself in a position of dependence on the Soviet Union; nor will its leaders be likely soon to forget the day when a Chinese representative was publicly humiliated by delegates of most of the "fraternal" parties. The prospects are that the Communist world will remain ideologically at war for many years.

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The Uncuttable Budget

ROBERT D. NOVAK

WASHINGTON

Occupying Washington's center ring for the first time since 1957 is a battle of the budget—set off this time, in roughly equal degree, by President Kennedy's tax-cut proposals, the fact that annual Federal spending is nearing the magic figure of $100 billion, and the lack of anything much better to do in one of the dullest Congressional sessions in memory. But as in most of these recurrent Congressional rebellions against the inexorable climb in government spending, the budget cutters seemed doomed to defeat before the battle is under way.

"Sometimes even I get cynical," confessed one of the most outwardly enthusiastic of the young House Republicans who are masterminding the economy drive. Cynicism is altogether understandable for anybody who has been around Capitol Hill long enough to have observed the nature of these periodic budget fights. The high resolve of the budget cutters invariably softens as spring turns into summer, disintegrates during the compromises of the dog days, and finally disappears in tacit surrender by Labor Day. Barring something very close to a legislative miracle, this year's budget cutters will fall far short of their hoped-for reduction of at least $4.5 billion in President Kennedy's estimated $98.8 billion in spending for the fiscal year beginning July 1. They will be fortunate to wind up with a cut as high as $1.5 billion and might not do anywhere that well.

A majority of Congress—almost all Republicans and a surprisingly large number of Democrats—truly would like to curb Federal spending. Congress, which probably reflects public opinion more accurately than its critics like to admit, has by no means accepted the argument of administration economists that simultaneous increases in spending and reductions in taxes lead to national well-being. In a sense, Congress and the nation at large remain wedded in theory to Calvin Coolidge's economic cure-all of ever-lower taxes and ever-lower spending. Moreover, the Republican Young Turk budget cutters are far better organized and far more serious in purpose than were the leaders of the unsuccessful 1957 economy drive, which seldom rose above the level of farce.

Meaningless Economies

Why, then, are the budget cutters fighting such a hopeless struggle? The answer can be found in the general impotence of Congress today. Hampered by cumbersome procedures and shackled by the realities of practical politics, Congress simply cannot do what it wants to do. And nowhere is this Congressional incapacity more apparent than in the budgetary process.

From the outset of any budget battle, the economy bloc is very nearly stymied by a Federal budget system too convoluted for the mind of man. Contrary to widespread belief, Congress does not approve or disapprove actual spending; it acts on new spending authority, usually in the form of appropriations. And except for appropriations permitting the payment of salaries, a dollar cut in appropriations does not mean that a dollar will be cut in spending the same year.

In the aggregate, appropriations are a bewildering amalgam of past, present, and future. A farm appropriation often constitutes legislative sanctioning for price supports actually paid out the previous year; thus, a cut in farm appropriations may be a meaningless gesture that has no effect on spending. Sums appropriated for defense procurement may not be paid out for a missile for several years; thus, Congress may whack away at defense appropriations with little immediate impact on spending. Moreover, once an appropriation has been voted, the Executive branch is able—in the Budget Bureau's jargon—to obligate, deobligate, and reobligate the money in an intricate game of fiscal musical chairs. Although the President is asking for an additional $108 billion in new spending authority, he has some $87 billion in unused spending authority previously approved by Congress—about half of it unobligated for a specific purpose.

All this gives the Executive branch considerable latitude in preventing a cut in appropriations from immediately resulting in a cut in spending. In truth, the Republican leaders are just plain guessing when they predict that a $10-billion cut in new spending authority will yield a $4.5-billion reduction in spending. Although Congress cut appropriations by $4 billion last year, actual spending for the fiscal year now ending will be higher than Mr. Kennedy first estimated.

But the primary reason why Congress finds it nearly impossible to reduce spending significantly goes deeper than the procedural miasma. Actually, the red tape of the budgetary process can be swept away in

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one clean and simple stroke by Congress: a resolution setting either a limit on Federal spending for the year or a series of limits on various categories of spending. Just such an approach is currently the subject of private conferences between Republican budget cutters and Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri, the economy-minded chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

Yet the expenditure-limit approach almost certainly will not be used by Congress in this or any other battle of the budget, for reasons that get to the heart of the Congressional budgetary dilemma. Because it is so difficult to relate appropriations to spending, a ceiling on spending would tacitly impose on the administration the responsibility of paring down specific programs to get under the ceiling. In effect, Congress would be abdicating control over the details of the budgetary process while imposing greater control over its broad outlines. Congress is not prepared to do this. From Colonial days when legislatures used the power of the purse to torment Crown governors, the American legislator has wielded detailed supervision of appropriation items as an instrument of power.

THERE IS thus a duality in the Congressional approach to the budget. On the one hand, Congress wants total spending reduced. On the other hand, it wants to maintain control over specific appropriation items to strengthen its dwindling role in the shaping of government policy. That these two desires are frequently incompatible was starkly illustrated in this year's budgetary skirmish—a skirmish that was close to disaster for the budget cutters.

At issue on the floor of the House was an authorization bill for Pentagon weapons procurement. (In the circumlocution of the appropriations process, an authorization can be described as the authority Congress votes itself so that it can later vote appropriations, which give the President authority to spend the money.) Republican budget cutters left themselves open to accusations of hypocrisy and inconsistency by supporting (successfully) a greater authorization than Mr. Kennedy had requested in funds for the proposed RS-70 supersonic reconnaissance bomber and by then supporting (unsuccessfully) a five per cent across-the-board cut for all items contained in the authorization bill. When that cut failed, most Republicans turned around and voted for the bill itself. "It was not what I would call an auspicious beginning," one prominent Republican budget cutter commented wryly.

Yet the Republicans here were not nearly so much demagogic hypocrites as victims of the contradictory approach to the budget taken by Congress generally. They wanted more

money for the RS-70 as a protest against Defense Secretary McNamara's downgrading of bombers and, in a broader sense, as a token reassertion of the Congressional role in arms policy. They voted to reduce the bill as a whole in the context of the battle of the budget. It is one of the wonders of the Congressional mind that it is able to segregate these diametrically opposed positions in watertight compartments.

Moreover, the internal Congressional confusion over budgetary aims is deepened by Congress's disinclination to cut individual spending items even though it insists on considering the budget in detail rather than in the aggregate. It will not reduce veterans' pensions. (To the contrary, the House recently passed, without even going through the formality of a roll call, two administration-opposed bills *increasing* veterans' disability pensions.) It will not cut back on subsidies to business and agriculture. It cannot bear to cut into specific projects in the burgeoning defense and space programs.

You Don't Shoot Santa Claus

This extreme reluctance to cut specific items stems in large degree from the fact that each appropriations bill becomes a pork-barrel bill to individual congressmen. Indeed, the space and defense appropriations bills are relatively immune to large-scale reductions primarily because the rank-and-file lawmaker sees them as massive WPA projects. While asserting and genuinely believing that defense appropriations can be cut without endangering the national security, he cannot bring himself to vote cuts that would close down a military installation or cancel a defense contract in his home district.

In this connection, the dominance of Southerners on the Appropriations Committees—particularly in the Senate—is a deterrent to effective budget cutting. The average conservative Southerner is attracted to the Appropriations Committee like a fly to a sugar bowl. When he gets there, his mission is twofold: to save the Republic from bankruptcy by cutting Federal spending and to ensure a continued disproportionate share of Federal largesse for the South. Here again, the dual desires are utterly incompatible. And invariably the hunger for Federal pork invariably wins out over longings for governmental economy.

What is more, this transformation of every appropriation bill—except the politically unprofitable foreign-aid bill—into a pork-barrel bill distorts the entire appropriations process. A serious discussion of military policy during a hearing by the House subcommittee on defense appropriations will be interrupted by a member's complaint over the closing of a base in his district. Senate subcommittee hearings on farm appropriations generally degenerate into a discussion about which states shall get which farm-research stations. The hardest-fought appropriations battle in Congress last year involved a proposed peanut-research plant in Georgia.

House Majority Leader Carl Albert

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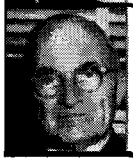

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THE REPORTER

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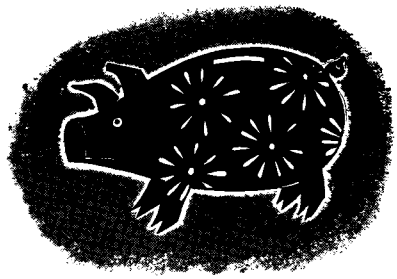
and House Majority Whip Hale Boggs recently led a carefully planned Democratic barrage on the House floor, chiding members of the economy bloc for tenacious defense of their own pet spending projects. But more telling was a sardonic speech by Charles Joelson of New Jersey, a pro-administration freshman member of the Appropriations Committee. Declaring that "each Congressman knows his own district best," Joelson challenged every lawmaker to submit recommendations for reducing Federal spending in his own constituency. "Naturally," he continued, "I should also welcome any information from anyone who would like a large defense contract terminated in his district. When I total all the response, I shall announce the result. I doubt that I shall require an adding machine."

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, the budget cutters have scant hope for any real success through the use of conventional tactics. They are pinning their hopes on a new strategy of holding two vital Kennedy measures—a bill to raise the debt ceiling and the top-priority tax-reduction program—as hostages. The ransom price for passage of the two measures is a voluntary cutback in spending by the administration itself.

It is an absolute necessity for the sake of the government's solvency that the debt limit be pushed up again this year to make room for the steady increase in deficit spending. Conservatives claim they just won't do it unless Mr. Kennedy immediately makes plans for a cutback of a billion or two dollars. The situation is narrowing for the Treasury's debt managers. But Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and one of the most adroit compromisers in Congress, has been trying to dress up the debt-limit proposal to make it more acceptable to conservatives without really giving the budget cutters what they want. At any rate, it is doubtful that the budget cutters actually would go to the lengths of defeating a debt-ceiling proposal when the hour of decision arrives.

As for conservative threats to kill Mr. Kennedy's tax cut unless he reduces spending, the problem for the



budget cutters lies in the timing. Congress will be considering tax reduction this summer, long before the final returns are in from the battle of the budget. And it is the final returns that count. Undoubtedly the House will vote some seemingly substantial reductions in appropriations during the next few weeks—enabling House conservatives to vote for tax reduction. The first two appropriations bills reported to the House floor reduced requested appropriations for the Interior Department by nearly ten per cent and requests for the Post Office and Treasury Departments by 2.5 per cent. But much of the spending authority cut in the House will be restored by the always more generous Senate, and still more may be restored by deficiency-appropriations bills late this year and early next year. Then too, there's the old problem of relating appropriations to spending. Consequently, the fight over the tax bill will be but a memory by the time the spending for the fiscal year is known.

The Futile Fight

All in all, any gains scored by the budget cutters are apt to be limited and transitory. They have forced Mr. Kennedy to be slightly more restrained in his spending plans, including a voluntary $400-million cutback in requested appropriations for foreign aid. The administration's apathy about Federal aid to education and other new spending programs is a direct by-product of the budget battle. The budget cutters are at least delaying passage of Federal aid for urban mass transit, the creation of a Youth Conservation Corps, and a few other bills. But their grand design of halting or even reversing annual increases in Federal spending is a mere tilting at windmills. Annual budgets of less than $100 billion are gone forever.

Once the furor of the present battle of the budget has died away, it might be well for the budget cutters to take a good look at the appropriations process itself. It cannot really be used to effect any great changes in the level of spending ordered by the President. It is only occasionally effective in imposing the will of Congress on specific policy matters; the RS-70, for example, is almost certainly doomed no matter how many times Congress votes money for it.

Moreover, congressmen who insist that the appropriations process at least provides a careful check and review of administration spending programs are living in a world of make-believe. Lacking a large and effective staff, the Appropriations Committees can give the Executive branch spending plans only a cursory examination. The House appropriations hearings are verbose, meandering, and generally unproductive. If the House members hit upon some real waste in the Executive branch, it is largely a matter of luck. The Senate's consideration of appropriations is even less adequate, with its Appropriations Committee serving principally as a court of appeals to hear bureaucratic complaints about appropriation reductions by the House.

In the real world, Congress today probably can do no more than serve as a watchdog for any obvious examples of waste. But even for this limited function to be effective would require an enormous increase in trained staff—perhaps as many as two hundred professionally competent and well-paid staff members serving as a sort of Capitol Hill budget bureau. And such a trained watchdog force would run counter to the conservatives' notions that large, professional staff forces aren't really necessary in government today. Furthermore, liberals would be extremely wary about superimposing a Congressional budget bureau on top of the Federal budgetary structure.

So the appropriations process in Congress seems destined to go its chaotic and irrational way without change. And when the present fever of budget cutting subsides, it's a fair bet that nobody will pay much attention to appropriations until the next futile and furious battle of the budget erupts.

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The Loneliest Governor

WILLIAM S. ELLIS

MONTPELIER

SNOWDRIFTS more than six feet high still lay all around Aaron Ward's farmhouse and barn in central Vermont. In the driveway, in a green pickup truck with an "I MISS IKE" sticker on the front bumper, Ward waited to take his wife, Zephine, to the village for the weekly meeting of Pythian Sisters. "Wouldn't surprise me if he came out and said it's been a big joke and that he ain't a Democrat at all," dairy farmer Ward told me, as we chatted about state politics. "Then, maybe I could believe what happened."

Tremors of disbelief have been shaking Vermont ever since January, when Philip A. Hoff, a Democrat, moved into the governor's office, ending 109 consecutive years of Republican State House control here. Looking back over his first hundred days in office, it can be said that seldom has a governor of such a small state been beset by so many big problems. Moreover, he faces them in almost complete political isolation.

THE WALLS of the governor's chambers are covered with massive gilt-framed portraits of pinch-lipped Whigs and Republicans. Soon after taking office, Hoff added a portrait of the state's only other Democratic governor, John S. Robinson. So far Robinson, who alas brings no smiling relief to the gallery of mutton-chop-whiskered scowlers, has been about the closest thing to a Democratic confidant that Hoff has.

Most of the Republicans in the State House naturally avoid him for fear of being identified with what is still sometimes referred to here as the New Deal. The Democrats are angry because Hoff hasn't swept out the Republican heads of departments and replaced them with members of his own party. The case of Elmer E. Towne, the commissioner of agriculture, irks them particularly. They thought that Towne would be the first to go because, for one thing, he had allowed a dairy to do business without posting a performance bond. When the company went broke, many farmers in Vermont lost money. However, Governor Hoff announced that he would keep Towne and let him stand as "a symbol of Vermont Republicanism." Democrats were incensed and Republicans were insulted.

"This state is lousy with Democrats who have been waiting for years and years for patronage," Carroll P. Adams, the executive secretary of the Republican state committee, told me. "But Phil Hoff is smart enough to know that if he expects to be re-elected in two years he has to court Republican wishes."

"I have to approach my appointments with a great deal of care because my only hope of accomplishing anything is to take a bipartisan approach," Governor Hoff told me. Then with acid despondency he added, "I'm the only Democrat in my administration, you know."

While the Republicans have no quarrel with Hoff over appointments, or the lack of them, they are concerned with the possibility that he might tamper with the town governments—the quintessence of home rule in this state. In his inaugural address, Hoff asked the legislators to go home for a year; he needed time, he explained, to make a comprehensive study of the system whereby fewer than four hundred thousand persons are called on to support 246 local governments.

"The governor wants to consolidate some of our towns," said Sam Parsons, who, when he is not sitting with the legislature, is the town clerk of Hubbardton. "People aren't going to put up with that, I don't believe. It'll cause the towns to lose their identity. The governor hasn't lived here long enough to know our problems." (Hoff is from Massachusetts.)

The legislators didn't go home. They stayed around to debate such matters as paying funeral expenses for persons on relief (actually, Vermont has some of the most advanced social legislation in the nation) and a proposal to require all cars registered in the state to be equipped with "seat harnesses." It is expected that the legislators will end their season in May or early June, still uncertain about the future course of the tall, blondly handsome thirty-eight-year-old governor, who served in the state legislature only one term before becoming the chief executive.

Philip Hoff worked hard to win the election. He traveled thirty thousand miles through the state, reminding the people of the "sterility" of the Republican program. He nursed along a growing disillusionment with the administration of the incumbent, Governor F. Ray Keyser, Jr. He chatted with the ladies at their church suppers. He laughed with the men in the Grange halls as they related tall Yankee stories like the one about the two Vermont cows that hiked 1,200 miles to the national dairy show in St. Louis in 1929 and gave forty quarts of milk each day they were on the road.

NOW that he is in, Philip Hoff may well question the value of the reward. His salary is less than $15,000 a year, including expenses. There is no such thing as a governor's mansion in Vermont, so he has to rent an apartment. And to suggest that the state buy a limousine for its chief executive is to outrage Yankee frugality. So Hoff calls the state police when he wants to go somewhere. If there is a cruiser available, it is dispatched to him.

In the State House, both Democrats and Republicans agree that Hoff is one of the most personable governors the state has ever had. They also agree that he has little chance of winning re-election. This opinion is based largely on the state-wide reaction to his plan for letting things mark time until he can determine how best to tackle the major problems of finances, overlapping town governments, and the present apportionment formula that makes it possible for representatives of only 11.4 per cent of the population to control the state house of representatives.

"Next year, though, the fur is going to fly in this State House," Hoff promised in our interview. "I realize that the future of the Democratic Party in Vermont rests with me." Meanwhile, the waiting game goes on and the governor sits in his office, hoping that someone, anyone, will stop in and say hello.

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A Canterbury Tale

ROBERT RUSHMORE

ONE DAY back in September, 1832, a minister's wife in Canterbury, Connecticut, paid a call on Miss Prudence Crandall, the handsome twenty-nine-year-old principal of a female boarding school situated in the village. Canterbury, a community of about fifteen hundred people, located in eastern Connecticut on the turnpike between Hartford and Providence, prided itself on having both a reading club and a temperance movement. When Miss Crandall had first considered investing her capital in the large white house with classical pilasters at the southwest corner of the village green, everyone had encouraged her, believing that an institution for private education would be an embellishment to the town. Up until now Miss Crandall's conduct of the school had been entirely praiseworthy. But she had recently accepted as a day pupil a girl named Sarah Harris, a seventeen-year-old mulatto. Speaking for the town, the minister's wife felt obliged to point out that under the enlightened Connecticut laws regarding Negroes Sarah had been able to obtain an elementary education at the district school. That was certainly enough. She must be withdrawn from the boarding school immediately.

Miss Crandall replied that Sarah Harris was a pious and intelligent girl who had asked to attend the classes in order "to get a little more learning—enough if possible to teach colored children." Before accepting her, Miss Crandall had put the matter to her pupils, some of whom had gone to district school with Sarah. They had unanimously voted for her admission.

The minister's wife was firm. The people of Canterbury were upright New Englanders of Puritan stock, moral and high-minded and in no way opposed to the colored people becoming educated. Nevertheless, "The parents will not have it said their daughters went to school with a nigger girl." If Sarah Harris were not withdrawn, the other pupils would be.

THOUGH she had invested all her money in the school and even gone several hundred dollars in debt, Miss Crandall's reply was equally firm: the school could sink before she turned the girl out.

What followed was as predicted: the pupils began to drop away. Miss Crandall, a modest but determined Quaker, came to a decision that she wrote in January, 1833, to William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the abolitionist paper the *Liberator:* "I wish to know your opinion respecting changing white scholars for colored ones. I have been for some months past determined if possible during the remaining part of my life to benefit the people of color. I do not dare tell any one of my neighbors anything about the contemplated change in my school, and I beg you, sir, that you will not expose it to any one." She asked him if it was possible to find "20 or 25 young ladies of color to enter this school for the term of one year at the rate of $25 per quarter including board, washing and tuition . . ."

Garrison reacted to Miss Crandall's proposed school "with a rush of pleasurable emotions" and set about helping her in every way he could. When the village of Canterbury discovered her plan a month later, it had a rush of somewhat different emotions. To block the plan, it formed a committee headed by Arthur T. Judson, who had just built a handsome house cater-cornered from Miss Crandall's on the village green. Mr. Judson, a politically ambitious lawyer, was a colonizationist; in other words, he believed that all Negroes were unfit for intellectual training and should be exiled from America to some colony of their own. Another member of the committee that now waited on Miss Crandall was the village physician, Andrew Harris, also a neighbor on the green. Their reasons for opposing the school followed lines that have become familiar. Morally, of course, they felt a real regard for the colored people and were perfectly willing for them to be educated—but in some other place. A school for Negro girls in the center of Canterbury would lower real-estate values and keep new people from settling, with a resultant loss of taxes; society might become leveled and there was the ugly possibility of intermarriage. It would bring "ruin and disgrace" on everyone.

ON MARCH 9, 1833, the people of Canterbury held a noisy town meeting. Miss Crandall's proposed school was denounced as a plot against the general peace and prosperity, and the principal was branded a dupe of "male conspirators." Three attorneys, friends of Garrison's, sat at the back of the hall trying to say that Miss Crandall would be willing to move her school to a house less conspicuously situated than on the village green, but they were threatened with violence if they spoke and as a result were never heard. At the end of the meeting a resolution was passed disapproving the school and pledging Canterbury to oppose it in all possible ways. There was only one dissenting vote.

"Heathenism Outdone!" Garrison headlined an account of the meeting in the next issue of the *Liberator*

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and printed the names of "the principal disturbers," among them Judson's, in heavy black letters. The Canterbury mania, he declared, was "one of the genuine flowers of the colonization garden." The vigor of Garrison's prose style disturbed Miss Crandall. "Permit me to entreat you," she wrote, "to handle the prejudices of the people of Canterbury with all the *mildness* possible." A predilection for mildness did not prevent her, however, from bringing in during the following month approximately twenty Negro girls from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Providence, whom she began to instruct in arithmetic, grammar, moral philosophy, and those precepts of modesty and purity in which she believed.

The sight of "the little misses of color" was so "odious to the town" that another meeting was held, and this time the school was denounced for promulgating "pernicious sentiments subverting the Union." An old vagrancy law was found on the books, and on April 22 Eliza Hammond, a seventeen-year-old pupil from Providence, was served with a warrant for having failed as a nonresident to post bond in proof that she would not be a charge on the town. Punishment was ten lashes on the bare body and expulsion from Canterbury. Hastily, friends sympathetic to the school raised money to post bonds for all the girls and the public whipping was averted. Miss Crandall appeared to have won the first round.

IN OTHER ASPECTS she was less fortunate. No tradesman would deal with her and she was unable to buy food in Canterbury. Manure was thrown into her well and her white house was spattered with rotten eggs and filth. The church shut its doors to her and her girls and Dr. Harris refused to call, despite the fact that Miss Crandall was a woman of frail health. When the pupils walked out they were jeered at and insulted, and often a troop of boys followed them blowing horns, beating drums, and playing "rough music" with gongs and other noisy instruments. Sometimes stones were thrown.

Miss Crandall was able to obtain food from a sympathetic storekeeper in nearby Packerville, and the Packerville Baptist Church welcomed her and her students, though a private conveyance had to be found to take them to it, since they were not permitted to ride the public coach. The deprivation of water was the most serious problem, but Miss Crandall's father, though warned not to visit her, managed to run the gantlet of the village with a few pails every day.

On May 24, 1833, the Canterbury church bells tolled, cannon were fired, and joy swept through the pretty little New England village. The state legislature had been persuaded to pass a bill prohibiting private schools for nonresident Negroes and providing for the expulsion from the state of any student attending such a school. The Reverend S. J. May, a friend and sympathizer of Miss Crandall's, thought the law not only immoral but unconstitutional and advised her to disregard it, which she did. As a result she was arrested and found guilty of the crime of operating a boarding school for colored girls. When asked if she would not prefer to have a bond posted, she replied, "Oh no. I am only afraid they will not put me in jail."

The story of Miss Crandall's school reached Arthur Tappan, a wealthy philanthropist interested in helping the cause of the Negro. It was decided to make the prosecution of Miss Crandall a test of the constitutionality of the law passed by the Connecticut legislature—an important but costly procedure. Mr. Tappan wrote the Reverend Mr. May: "I wish you to consider me your banker . . . spare no necessary expense; employ the best legal counsel; and let this great question be fully tried, not doubting that under the good providence of a righteous God, the true and the right will ultimately prevail." To inform the public correctly of the facts of Miss Crandall's case, he gave money to found the *Unionist,* Windham County's first anti-slavery newspaper.

PRUDENCE CRANDALL'S trial began in August, 1833. The judge had helped frame the law under which the defendant was now indicted, and the lawyer for the prosecution was none other than Arthur T. Judson. A number of witnesses whom he called refused to testify out of loyalty to Miss Crandall and were thrown into jail. The basic issue of the trial was whether Negroes were citizens, a question that was to be finally settled by the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, but Mr. Judson managed to cloud it with other arguments. For example, if schools like Miss Crandall's were permitted, what was to stop the South from freeing all its slaves and sending them to Connecticut to be educated? His performance at the trial brought him a good deal of support for a Federal judgeship and eventually the judgeship itself, which he had been angling for all along, but he lost the trial. The jury could not agree on a verdict, despite the fact that the judge instructed them to bring in a conviction, and Miss Crandall was discharged.

In October she was indicted under a new writ and brought before another judge well known for his sympathy to the colonization idea. This time she was convicted, but her case was appealed and the state supreme court dismissed it the following July on a technicality. In Canterbury no church bells tolled, no cannon were fired: Miss Crandall, who had conducted her school with the help of her sister and two friends during the long period of litigation, was free to continue it.

EARLY one morning in September, 1834, Miss Crandall awoke to a smell of smoke in the house. With the aid of friends who were staying with her, she put out the fire that had been started on the outside of the house, but her pupils were terrified and for the first time she was frightened herself. She consulted with her friend the Reverend Mr. May as to whether to continue the school, and he urged her to go on with it now that not even fire had prevailed against it. But Prudence Crandall was apprehensive and at about midnight on September 9 her fears were realized. While the principal and her pupils huddled in an interior room, a mob attacked the house with clubs and iron bars, breaking in its doors and windows and making its front rooms uninhabitable. The next day Prudence Crandall closed her school. Canterbury had won.

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The Half-World Of American Drama

MARYA MANNES

In a season distinguished largely by British imports, three of the four plays written by America's most talented playwrights have been failures, two disastrously so. Only one brought the stage to brilliant life, and it is not news that this was Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, that it marked the subtle but significant shift from off-Broadway to Broadway, and that it is the study of a man and wife who need each other to destroy each other. For three hours—in the same room and with only one other couple as foil and victim—the air at the Billy Rose Theatre quivers and crackles with a tension that catches the breath and batters the emotions as a college professor and his drunken wife play games of mortal combat.

Young Albee's earlier plays, notably *The Zoo Story* and *The American Dream*, gave ample notice of his particular talents: a sharp perception of human diversity, a strong sense of emotional focus, an uncanny power of dialogue that can range, as it does in *Who's Afraid*, from savage humor to terrible sadness. There is nothing sloppy or vague about Albee; his aim devastates.

Yet his short or earlier works could not, by their very nature, give evidence of the staying power a long play demands, or of the constant shifts in rhythm, mood, and object without which a marathon of talk cannot hold an audience. And although Uta Hagen and Arthur Hill give magnificent performances as the tortured and torturing pair, a reading of Albee's script shows that life leaps just as violently out of the printed words as it does from their mouths and motions. The hellish sauna—scalding, freezing, scourging—is all there.

What is also there is a certain vision of the human condition which Albee shares with his established elders, Tennessee Williams, William Inge, Lillian Hellman, and, for that matter, with his contemporary Arthur Kopit, author of last year's long-running *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, etc.* It is a vision in which contempt for woman is only slightly greater than contempt for man, in which one destroys the other, and in which their common frustrations preclude either hope or heroism.

It is essential to the subject of *Who's Afraid* that a man like George and a woman like Martha be locked in hopelessness, for they both share the cause and burden of his impotence and her despair. What might otherwise be an overpreoccupation with this sexual core is given broader range by Albee's compassionate intuition into the complexities of marital interdependence. And those who find the play sordid or revolting miss precisely this point: somewhere in all this carnage there is love. Or if not love, then its close cousin, need.

It could be said of Lillian Hellman's recent short-lived savagery, *My Mother, My Father and Me*, that satire and love are by nature incompatible, and certainly her often funny and always brutal scatter shots at what she understandably hates in our society left little room for compassion. Of all the despicable people on the stage, from son-eating mother to phony-liberal, gutless son, only the grandmother had human vestment, and I credit the radiance of Lili Darvas with making this single apparition of gentle wisdom believable and even touching.

But "love" in the other plays never transcends sexuality; again, a diminution of the relationship between man and woman that betrays a special distortion of the nature of both. In *The Milk Train Doesn't Stop Here Any More*, Williams's protagonist, Flora Goforth, was a vulgar and boring old bag, his young man Chris a pallid symbol of nothing, and the other characters who intermittently occupied the terraces of an Italian villa on the Divina Costiera were either promising sketches, like Flora's handsome young secretary, or literary shadows. In a foreword, Williams hoped that we would find it possible to pity this "dying female clown, even while her absurd pretensions and her panicky last effort to hide from her final destruction make you laugh at her." But Flora is neither pitiable nor—though she triggers off snickers—laughable. She is just one more of those vehicles of an often subtly disguised contempt which have been proffered as women, for some time now, in the American theatre. Only a "pure," asexual woman, like Hannah in *Night of the Iguana*, is given stature and worth. The rest, driven by trivial or insatiable lusts, are—like Flora—grotesque.

There were those critics who felt that *Milk Train* was a clear parable and that Chris—godlike young poet-messenger of death—was Christ. If this is so, Mr. Williams's conception of the Saviour is scarcely exalted. I found the young visitor in *Milk Train* no more than a body beautiful, with neither seed nor sense. The sad thing about this play by our most talented playwright is, in fact, the almost total absence of ideas. There were, inevitably, flashes of Williams's theatrical brilliance, of his playful and penetrating invention and fluid talk, but no intellectual content to give them support and direction. Over it all, moreover, was a sort of film of obscenity which Flora Goforth spread not only on the gamy memoirs she dictated throughout the play but which also covered everything about her with the iridescent sheen of decay, a patina that in Williams's gifted hand has often managed to pass for beauty. Blood is drawn in *Who's Afraid* because blood was there. Williams's characters may cut each other, but they cannot bleed.

There was blood galore in *Natural Affection:* bad blood, running or clotted, between a man and woman chained in lust, between the woman's delinquent son and her lover, between a middle-aged latent homosexual and the nitwit child-wife who loathes him, between nearly everything that took place and natural affection. The stage squirmed like a

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heat mirage with hate and hopelessness, and it was a measure of Inge's remaining theatrical skill and ear for talk that the first act compelled you to listen and even to feel. It was also a tribute to Kim Stanley as Sue Barber, a fleshy lingerie buyer, that she could emerge from repeated clinches on a tumbled bed with a shabby stud as a woman to pity. Her success (as a buyer) and his failure (as a bartender, now Cadillac dealer); his success (as a lover) and her failure (as a mother): these seesaws rocked them savagely back and forth and into each other's arms. It was not, nor was it meant to be, edifying; neither was the twisted, ugly, love-starved boy Sue Barker bore and exiled till too late.

But what tolerance and involvement existed vanished during the course of the second half of the play: an exhibition of unchecked sensationalism almost more absurd than disgusting. Yet the erosion of a gifted playwright is neither absurd nor disgusting, only pitiable. In *Natural Affection* Inge seems to have sloughed off all restraint and splattered the stage with the entrails of his own demons. A screen should be set between such private torments and the public appetite. That it was not suggests an exploitation of the patient in the doubtful name of drama.

If there is, as I suspect, a common bond between these very different plays—the one success, the three failures—what is it? Again, I believe one of its elements is a preoccupation with violent sexual drives to the virtual exclusion of other forms of love between man and woman. In denying to a large degree that these other forms have importance, woman is made alternately devourer and devoured, a Venus fly-catcher (wholly explicit in Kopit's *Oh Dad, Poor Dad*) that traps, and is trapped with, her prey. Albee gives his Martha spirit and intelligence, but bludgeons both with drink. Williams gives his Flora spirit (she will not bow to her own death until her last great terror) but no mind, stripping her finally to her naked, sick, and corrupted body, Inge leaves his Sue in the end with nothing but sexual need.

Each of these playwrights seems to display a special affinity with, and knowledge of, the vulnerabilities of women. Their female characters almost always seem more real, more accurate than their males. But this is an artful deception, because there are no complete people in any of these plays. They are half men, half women, creatures of a very special, very enclosed world that in small details can uncannily resemble the real one. For these writers—all of them—have an equally uncanny ear for the true sound and cadence of speech. Flora Goforth talks like an old café-society hag with a fifty-year letch, Sue Barker's speech belongs to a lingerie buyer in a big Midwestern store, Martha's is the dialect of a destroyed intelligence. The acquisitive accents of Lillian Hellman's monstrous Jewish wife ring in every Fifth Avenue bus. Bernie Slovenk, Inge's car salesman-lover, does indeed conjure up a slick salesroom, and Albee's George—in syntax at least—could be found in any small liberal-arts faculty. In such delineations, these American playwrights borrow the unsparing eye and ear of the professional gossip, from whom nothing—in no crevice or disguise—escapes exposure. They are maliciously accurate, unerringly specific. They know how to get under the skin.

These skills are great assets to the theatre. On the debit side, I would say, was a self-indulgence in which their talents, given too much license, run away with their craft. In *Milk Train,* the idea of a woman like Flora Goforth dictating her vulgar chronicle into microphones stuck in every room of the villa so that her flow (and her secretary's shorthand) need never be suspended is fresh and funny. But it is not fresh and funny for two and a half hours, whatever the brassy versatility of an actress like Hermione Baddeley. It is a gimmick that trails into trivia. Williams has, moreover, not stopped himself from rummaging into the old trunk of costumes that clothed so many previous and reminiscent characters, whether lusting beldame or questioning youth.

Of Inge's indulgence, let it only be said that the broth was black enough without drunkenness, indecent exposure, attempted rape, murder, and necrophilia. There was plenty to work on without these.

The particular indulgence of Lillian Hellman in her late last play was in her proliferation of targets. In one short evening (and with far too large a cast) she turned her guns on Jews, Negroes, white liberals, psychiatrists, beatniks, nursing homes, folk singers, and, of course, mother-loves-son and wife-loathes-husband, an amply reciprocal condition. You can't show that Everything's No Damn Good and come up with anything good. What is more, the disciplines of craft that have so distinguished her previous work—the spareness and structural clarity of plays like *The Little Foxes* and *The Children's Hour*—were totally absent here: the play was all over the place.

Of all these playwrights—in their recent manifestations at least—Albee is the most disciplined. Although his dialogue in *Who's Afraid* is torrential, it defies editing: every word, every repetition counts. The bombardment of hate is part of the game, the excess not excessive. He has kept within the nature of his intent almost to the end. I say almost because I felt the only false note of the play to be the final exorcism of Martha: a device which is as theatrical as it is painful, but which for the first time during the hypnotic tension engendered makes the listener conscious of the stage. In this, I believe, Albee has indulged himself.

Taken as a whole, the American contribution to theatre this season, success or failure, could indicate a point of no return for a certain view of life and a certain way of playwrighting that has dominated our stage to the detriment, I believe, of its development as a potent form of communication and illumination. For these plays give us a half-world in which the men and women are, in a sense, interchangeable, in which, except for physical need, there is no basic reality to their relationship, and in which they are locked in the maximum-security prison of their one common sex, from which no escape is possible.

It is a world in which there is horror but little hope, ruin but no redemption, compulsion but no release, disease but no cure. By and large the human being is the victim, bereft of will; the acted upon but not the acting. There are then, inevitably, no heroes.

There are, moreover, few real

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ideas or illuminations. After seeing this kind of play we know ourselves no better than we did, although I have been told that an astonishing number of couples see in Albee's Martha and George other couples if not themselves: American marriage is apparently more of a death struggle than one had thought. But except for Lillian Hellman's head-on attacks on the more blatant ignominies of our society, there has been no attempt in these plays to stir the deep layers of thought with bold and broad insights and observations. Our emotions have been harrowed but our minds unfertilized. It was a matter of considerable irony that, to me at least, the only time this season that drama came to grips with a major theme was when CBS-TV's *The Defenders* dealt superbly with the attempted expulsion of a respected schoolteacher on charges of unfitness solely because of the fact that he was an atheist.

There is, though, a smell of change in the wind. A fifth American playwright presented on Broadway this season, Jack Richardson, hinted of it in a palpable flop called *Lorenzo*. Like Albee, Richardson has given off-Broadway evidence of a strong talent in *The Prodigal*, a highly distinguished play based on the Orestes legend. He has ideas, he writes with style and eloquence, he is erudite, poetic, and wryly witty. And if the disciplines which gave *The Prodigal* such welcome spareness and containment faltered fatally in *Lorenzo*, he shows firm and serious commitments to humanity. The fact that he aims high and addresses the intelligence rather than the viscera gives him a long-term strength that should make this short-term failure an asset rather than a setback. Richardson is surely too perceptive not to realize that *Lorenzo* did not work as theatre. If he has found out why, his next play should be worth waiting for.

So, indeed, should Edward Albee's. A talent as strong as his can afford the pursuit of larger, more universal themes. For they are what our theatre needs, even if producers, long and understandably beguiled by the box-office benefits of sex, sadism, and sickness, shy away from them. The audiences, I predict, will not.

BOOKS

The Blight

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

THE GREAT HUNGER, by Cecil Woodham-Smith. *Harper & Row. $6.95.*

This is a history that was to be seen coming. A decade ago Mrs. Woodham-Smith published *The Reason Why*, her stunning account of the charge of the Light Brigade, tracing that astounding slaughter back through the invincibly complacent careers of the great earls and lords responsible, and there she came upon the Irish famine. Even as events loomed in the Crimea, she lingered in Connaught recounting with horror and fascination events it is still all but impossible to accept.

Mrs. Woodham-Smith is a Fitz-Gerald of the great Norman-Irish clan, *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*. Rereading her earlier book, one feels the author seized by that awful moment in history, and unable to move on until she found release in the thought that the suffering of the Irish was in time avenged. George Charles Bingham, third Earl of Lucan, suzerain of Castlebar in Mayo, "the Great Exterminator," did not, as he put it, "intend to breed paupers to pay priests." He simply tore down their huts and drove away those forty thousand-odd of his starving tenants who had not already been eaten by rats, and he defended himself in the House of Lords for doing so, even as he was later to insist on the correctness of his actions at Balaclava. "From the bottom of his heart," Mrs. Woodham-Smith wrote, "he despised them, swarming . . . ignorant, shiftless, and Roman Catholics into the bargain. It is doubtful if he considered the Irish as human beings at all." But, she averred, the matter was not ended there, even if the landlords did not know it. Her chapter in that earlier book concludes:

"As the 'coffin ships' made their slow voyage across the Atlantic . . . they bore with them a cargo of hatred. In that new world which had been called into being to redress the balance of the old there was to grow up a population among whom animosity to England was a creed, whose burning resentment could never be appeased, who, possessing the long memory of Ireland, could never forget. The Irish famine was to be paid for by England at a terrible price; out of it was born Irish America."

MRS. WOODHAM-SMITH now returns to Ireland in the year 1845, then, "as it had been for nearly seven hundred years, a source of grave anxiety to England." After seven centuries of repeated conquest and unrelenting oppression, "an Irish nation still existed, separate, numerous and hostile." In fact, incredibly numerous. Until about the time of the American Revolution the population of Ireland had been inconsiderable—it had dropped to

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half a million under Cromwell. Then, "abruptly, mysteriously, an extraordinary and fatal phenomenon occurred, and the population began to increase at a rate unknown to history," reaching the highest density in Europe. By 1845 Ireland supported a population of some nine million. Or rather, the potato did.

The enormous majority of the people lived in mud hovels on literally nothing but potatoes—fourteen pounds per head per day. "Over great tracts of Ireland any form of cooking beyond boiling a potato in a pot became unknown—greens were unknown, bread was unknown, ovens were unknown." This vast, tuberose, almost cultureless population swelled apace to the satisfaction of the priests and the indifference of the authorities. It owned nothing, it knew nothing, it could do nothing save dig potatoes and breed. In all history few people have so totally exposed themselves to natural disaster as did the peasant Irish of the early nineteenth century. And of course it came.

The potato, which became the staple food about the time the population began to rise, is apparently a completely balanced diet. It required only a spade to cultivate; an acre and a half will keep a family of six—a quarter of the acreage needed for an equivalent amount of grain. Any surplus could be fed to the pig, or made into usquebaugh. Unfortunately, in the manner of overcultivated and unstudied crops, the Irish potato was becoming steadily more subject to disease. The crop failed, at least partially, in 1822, 1831, 1835, 1836, 1837, and even more seriously in 1839. As a result, the Irish population reached the point where it was starving at the same time it was expanding; babies were sprouting in one county while the folk were dying in the next. Until 1845, more were born than died.

The events of the famine were not new but only more intense. About half the 1845 crop failed. The 1846 crop failed completely. The 1847 crop was superb, but the ruined people had eaten their seed and not nearly enough was planted. Between times the winters were ferocious. Then, in 1848, the crop failed totally once again. Starvation, typhus, possibly even cannibalism, and emigration steadily took their toll. A million and a half persons perished; another million left the country. Ireland was never the same again.

THE QUESTION WAS, and still seems to be, What ought the British to have done? It arises in part because during this period only the potato failed, so that throughout the famine English merchants were shipping Irish food *out of the country*. Grain paid the rent, so it was sold even after the potato had failed. The rent, of course, had to be paid: this was a matter of principle as well as profit, for the Whigs were in full ascendancy and were prepared to endure any amount of Irish suffering in the name of English scruples. "Do not encourage the idea of prohibiting exports," wrote Charles Edward Trevelyan, First Secretary of the Treasury, in September, 1846; "perfect Free Trade is the right course." In a free market the price of food in Ireland would rise, grain would flow in, the people would be fed, all in the best liberal, laissez-faire manner. It was perhaps inevitable that the English would overlook the fact that the Irish had no money—wages were literally unknown in the famine areas—and did not know how to bake bread, but someone might have noticed that in Tipperary in April, 1846, perfect free trade required a convoy of "2 guns, 50 cavalry and 80 infantry" escorting the barges down-river.

The British government did a creditable job—at first. Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel bought quantities of "Indian corn" from America to offset the partial failure of the 1845 crop, and was hardly to be blamed if no one was quite sure how to eat it. He even put through the repeal of the sacred Corn Laws, all, as the Duke of Wellington put it, because of "rotten potatoes." But the trouble would not go away; and worse, the Whigs came to power spouting fine new convictions about those governments being best which govern least. In July, 1846, even as the signs of the coming total failure appeared, Trevelyan determined to close down the relief program, that

For a Christening

The Eagle father tests his child
As child of him, by the sun.
And child of no betrayal is
That fledgling which, despairing less
At pain than poverty, goes blind
Of its obedience.

This morning we must face this child,
As Eagle child, fearful at
Its test of sun, stares body blind
Against that blazing raptor, lest
He sacrifice inheritance.
And, fearful of our child, ask

What risk took Simeon, grown old,
To feel the stooping at his eyes
Of heavy bird contemptuous
Of sons burned sightless, seeking heirs?
Recall how much more quickly did
The *Child* plunder at his eyes.

—JOHN ENGELS

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being "the only way to prevent the people from becoming habitually dependent on Government . . ." Resentment replaced concern: "It is possible," observed the *Times,* "to have heard the tale of sorrow too often." In 1847 the government decided that correct principles required that the destitute be cared for out of local taxes. But of course the local governments were bankrupt. Then the revolutions of 1848 occurred in Europe; once again Irish rebels sought to take advantage of English distress and once again failed, but not before providing the best of excuses for what now became, in the words of the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a "policy of extermination." No matter. Lord John Russell, Peel's successor as Prime Minister, warned him, "The course of English benevolence is frozen by insult, calumny and rebellion." The total failure of the 1848 crop evoked no response whatever. Carlyle visited Ireland in 1849, and noted only that "pity dies away into stony misery and disgust in the excess of such scenes."

ALL THIS HAPPENED, and the urge to blame someone wells up even as the reader, too, grows stony with disgust. The English reviews of the book evoked all the familiar resentments and defenses. Conor Cruise O'Brien concluded in the *Guardian* that the charge of genocide, or something very near to it, was proven. D. W. Brogan, Glasgow Irish to the marrow, was gleeful in the *Spectator:* "Mrs. Woodham-Smith has blown the gaff on the Whig tradition . . . I have learned that the Two Sicilies were probably better governed and, I must say, I prefer King Bomba to Sir Charles Trevelyan." But what else, asked the anonymous reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement,* could one expect of "the robust Englishman of that far-away epoch . . . For they had formed the lowest opinion of the Irish peasant, and not all the tenderheartedness of the 1960s nor all the moving eloquence of Mrs. Woodham-Smith can quite convince us that they were wrong." The *Observer* added that seven thousand of the eight thousand new landlords who bought up bankrupt estates after the famine "and proved the harshest evicting landlords of the lot" were Irishmen.

The truth? It comes through clear enough in this compassionate, indignant, and masterful work. The British civil service for the most part worked very hard indeed, and British taxpayers put up their share. On one day in July, 1847, 3,030,712 persons were fed at the soup kitchens and Trevelyan had cause to take pride in the fact. The Quakers were splendid. But Ireland was a conquered nation, and the Anglo-Irish who had taken possession of the land were as scurvy a lot of scavengers as ever built a Palladian manor. By the Act of Union they had sold their country and, as was said, thanked God they'd a country to sell. After that they had no interests save to collect the rents. Even worse, the Irish were a conquered people, and it showed as they more or less quietly starved to death. For a few brave moments in '48 crowds rallied round William Smith O'Brien and Thomas Meagher, but it turned out they were only looking for a meal, and when they got none the pathetic rebellion was over. The truth is, the terrible things that happened to Ireland happened before the famine.

THERE was to be no revenge. Irish America never came to pass. Mrs. Woodham-Smith combines the British and Irish tendencies to overestimate Hibernian influence in America. (She describes Tammany of the 1840's, for example, as "the central organization of the Democratic Party of the United States.") But in fairness, as she recounts the reception of the famine immigrants in New York and Boston, it emerges clearly enough that the Binghams and the Trevelyans were running the New World as much as the old country, and that their contempt for the Celtic Irish had suffered no sea change whatsoever.

So long as it suited American national interests, the American Irish were given a sometimes astonishingly free hand at harassing England, but nothing came of this. The long-winded adulation of failed revolutionaries such as Meagher ("Tis he will sheathe that battle axe in Saxon gore") and the Fenian raids on Canada were more pathetic than anything else. The Irish remained an object of scorn by the American Establishment, which was then much concerned with its Saxon-Germanic heritage.

When American interests changed, Irish concerns were promptly cast aside. The one moment when America might have, and ought to have, helped Ireland was at Versailles in 1919, when we were introducing the world to the pleasures of self-determination and Ireland wanted some. But alas for the Gael, the "special relationship" had by then been discovered; worse, the President of the United States was an Ulster Presbyterian. Wilson would not even enter the same room with the decent-enough Tammany judge who was the leading American spokesman for Irish independence.

But if America did not become Irish, something far more important did happen. It ceased to be Protestant. The famine emigration laid the foundations of the American Catholic Church, which now numbers some forty-two million souls. What will come of this is not yet clear, but it is the fact that today the greatest Christian nation on earth is neither overwhelmingly Protestant nor Catholic, and that with each decade the great schism seems somehow more the scandal that it is, and the prayers for unity mount. Could it be that it is Cromwell, not Lord John Russell, whose work will be at last undone?

Invaders And Invaded

WILLIAM T. HAGAN

CONQUISTADORS IN NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY, by Paul Horgan. *Farrar, Straus. $5.50.*

Professor Horgan retells here a story with which he is quite familiar, the steps leading to the conquest and settlement of the upper Rio Grande Valley. This time he has chosen to emphasize the preliminaries; and of the explorers and conquistadors he singles out for discussion—Columbus, Cortés, Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, Oñate, and Vargas—only

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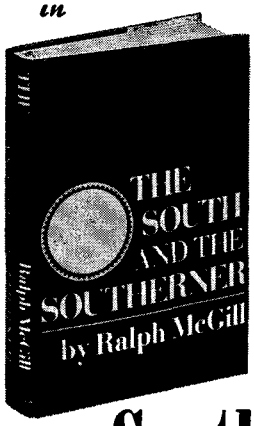

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the last two were directly involved in the ultimate conquest and settlement.

Although the careers of the conquistadors provide the narrative, it is the native Americans who provide the backdrop. The Spaniards robbed them, slaughtered them, and in the end were absorbed by them. Cortés's conquest of Mexico, facilitated by trivial rivalries and by the Aztec myth of a white redeemer, is described in colorful detail. But, as Professor Horgan makes clear, once the conquest had been completed two factors worked in favor of the Indian. His toil was necessary to enable the Spanish gentlemen to exploit the mineral and agricultural wealth of the Americas, and Christian doctrine as understood by the Catholic Spanish presupposed an equality before God of both Spaniards and Indians.

Of course, the conquistadors were accused of brutal treatment of their work force, and every account of Spanish exploration and settlement refers to the extinction of the native populations of some Caribbean islands. But throughout the dominions of the Spanish monarch Franciscan friars, armed with a code inspired by the missionary priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, intervened in behalf of the Indians. The friars softened the impact of the conquest and saved thousands from serfdom. In missions from Florida to California, Indians learned to spin and weave, to cultivate wheat and barley, and to raise sheep, cattle, and swine. The conquistadors filed their own charges of greed and brutality against the friars, but the record of the mission as a civilizing agent compares quite favorably with that of the plantation or the mine.

In comparing the impact of other colonial powers, we find that Indians in contact with the English did not fare so well as those in contact with the Spanish, while those in contact with the French fared better. Since not land or minerals but furs were the prime incentives of the French, forced labor and extermination were not practical policies in Canada. The French needed the co-operation of the natives in harvesting furs, and the arrangement profited both parties. Perhaps because of the inferior military situation, perhaps because of a lack of that crusading zeal which led Cortés to challenge the native gods even before he had the power to dethrone them, Frenchmen were much more tolerant of Indian religious practices. The Frenchman came as a guest, friend, ally, and business partner, not as a conqueror arrogantly proud of his cultural superiority and intent on imposing his civilization on the Indian.

Like the Spaniard, the Englishman scorned Indian culture and primarily was interested in the acquisition of land. But unlike the conquistador, who dreamed of estates tilled by gangs of passive natives, the average English settler's experience limited his aspirations to a farm to be tilled by himself and the children borne by his English wife. The intermarriage that characterized Spanish and French settlement did not appear in the English colonies. Casual alliances did produce mixed-blood offspring, but the English never countenanced the open and extensive miscegenation that could produce a new nation in Mexico.

In part, the more acute race consciousness of the Englishman stemmed from a harsher evaluation of the Indian as a human being. The Spanish might debate among themselves the degree of the rationality of the Indians, but of the existence of their immortal souls the Spanish had no doubt. Sometimes this led to a ridiculous gulf between theory and practice. Thus, alarmed at reports reaching him in Madrid of the slaughter of the native population, King Ferdinand issued an order called the Requirement, which afforded the Indians an opportunity for repentance by providing that punishment of recalcitrant natives should always be preceded by a lecture on Christian political theory. Far from Madrid this might mean that a chaplain, at a safe distance, would intone meaningless phrases to a howling, weapon-brandishing pueblo population just prior to a Spanish assault.

The Spanish and English administrators shared a common problem in their efforts to win the Indians to Christianity. An English missionary concluded gloomily after fruit-

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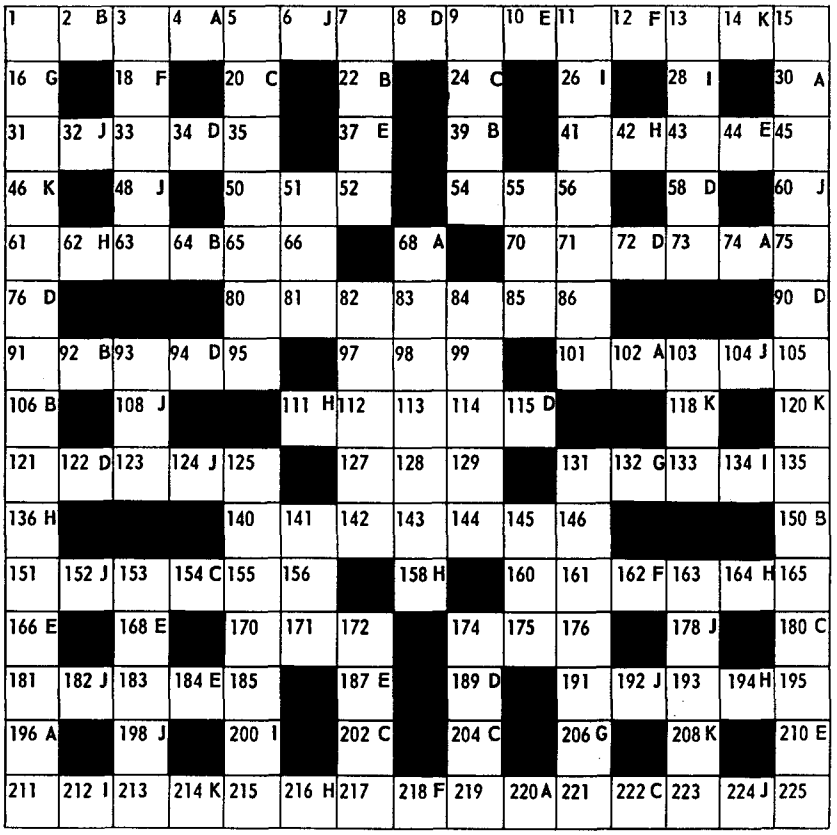
THE REPORTER Acrostickler® No. 77

by HENRY ALLEN



DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

A
74 220 196 30 68 102 4 ". . . a feeling and a love, / that had no need of a ___ charm." Wordsworth, "Tintern Abbey."

B
92 2 106 64 22 150 39 A townsman.

C
24 180 154 20 222 202 204 Mustard gas.

D
189 76 58 72 8 115 90 34 94 122 A body of water off South-West Africa (7,3) (var. sp.).

E
44 10 168 166 187 37 184 210 Browning wrote one to Asolando.

F
12 218 162 18 "Geniumque ——— ... precatur." Virgil, "Aeneid."

G
206 132 16 "Here's not a modest maiden ———/But dreads the final Trumpet." Hardy, "The Levelled Churchyard."

H
42 136 216 164 62 111 194 158 As a general thing.

I
28 212 26 134 200 The European service trees.

J
192 48 178 224 152 124 6 60 104 32 182

198 108 Leader of the United National Independence Party in the Acrostician's bailiwick.

K
118 208 214 120 46 14 Pertaining to the element whose atomic number is 39.

ACROSS

1. Separated, he and I plod about until almost frozen, but that's the earmark of the government of South Africa (9,6).
31. This dance has spirit to a certain degree.
41. Bury it between.
50. It comes from the refrigerator of a small French company.
54. Tee off in the summer.
61. The current is on backward at the gambling hall.
70. Gathers tacitly when both poles are on fire.
80. Take out the vanilla flavoring.
91. In Scotland this wanderer doesn't seem angry.
97. The state of things before Prometheus' gift upset the war.
101. This Levantine inn is back about the ages.
111. Draws in fifty and thousands more.
121. These Indian farmers have their own story.
127. The sheep in New England probably heard you.
131. In the example before us, fourth class at the service academies.
140. A draper on the march.
151. Guillotine as he bade.
160. Run away where the deportee came in.
170. A big person in U.S. slang is good back in France.
174. They go with the sound of a certain vowel that has altered.
181. A nun that is boredom herself.
191. 151 this ability and get murder.
211. The people of Salisbury and the Acrostician's compatriots (5, 10).

DOWN

1. Major concerns of the Acrostician (7,8).
3. French friends are all the same to one of us.
5. Prepared for action and altered the gun's deflection.
7. Move inch by inch to the rim.
9. Disavow change in a unit of force.
11. What belongs to the east gets squared away.
13. Mexican cordage found in Scottish thistles.
15. Fruit from the Ridings. Sorry, I help speak for it (9,6).
51. Apparently it takes a hundred oxen to steer a navy boat.
55. A sign of nervous disorder in politicians.
68. The streetcar line puts a vehicle on the road.
82. Tie in the railroad with this ancient cathedral town.
84. Bearded like wheat and expressed with three major points in an ad.
93. Chinese leader in the Burma outlands!
103. An American drink found in a British town.
125. Are his naps generally Iberian or siestas?
131. Pushes down hard on the printing machines.
141. A great commotion in changing a dollar.
145. The Anglo-Saxon equivalent of "th" in revised Hindustan.
153. The native who speaks the latter language is a Hun I'd change.
163. Miss Stewart in an American-Italian atmosphere.
172. The two of them may be hot.
174. Astounded at the start of a wedding ceremony.

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less work among the Iroquois that it would be necessary first to convert the licentious white frontiersmen. Professor Horgan quotes Cortés to the same effect in a protest he made against a royal order to permit the mingling of natives and white colonists. Most of the Spanish, Cortés declared, "are of low condition and manner, and vicious . . . and if they were to be free to move about in Indian towns, they would sooner convert them to their vices than attract them to virtue."

The original English charters frequently carried injunctions to convert the Indians, but they were seldom taken seriously. Fifteen years after the founding of Jamestown, Indian resistance almost wiped out the Virginia Colony and ended any projects for peaceful co-operation in that area. In New England, the Puritans, imbued with Calvin's doctrine of election, cast the Indians in the role of Satan's agents and thus felt no compunctions about killing or enslaving all who resisted. The first generation of Quakers in Pennsylvania displayed in their dealings with the Indians all the virtues George Fox urged them to cultivate. But later generations, corrupted by material success, appeared altruistic only in comparison with the abrasive Scotch-Irish on Pennsylvania's frontier.

The regional variations in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England reflected the absence of a clear-cut crown Indian policy. Unlike the Spanish provinces, each colony evolved its own response to the Indian conditions it encountered. If by the 1760's a pattern had emerged, it was not because of abortive attempts of the crown to centralize control of the fur trade and Indian affairs.

A comparable lack of unity among the Indians caused problems for the English. The Aztec empire was a greater military obstacle than any the Indians along the Atlantic Coast could present to the English, but once the Aztecs were overcome, the Spaniards inherited a pattern of control that greatly facilitated their conquest of all Mexico. For the English, a new Indian challenge lurked beyond every river or chain of hills. Defeated piecemeal as the English needed their land, the tribesmen were pushed farther and farther west. While the Spaniards and the Indians tended to blend their cultures, the fate of the Indians in English territories was either displacement or annihilation.

Analyzing 'The Kick'

NAT HENTOFF

THE RELUCTANT ART: THE GROWTH OF JAZZ, by Benny Green. *Horizon. $3.50.*

Despite the increase in books about jazz, the non-musician reader still has difficulty finding one to help him understand the music itself. There is too much history and not enough competent musical criticism. Most jazz critics substitute metaphors for analysis, providing a blur of impressions instead of explanations of the basic stylistic differences between individual jazz players. An exception is André Hodeir's *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence* (Grove Press, now available in Evergreen and Black Cat paperback editions). Sizable sections of Hodeir's book, however, are bristlingly technical.

What has long been needed is an introductory exploration of jazz essences, and *The Reluctant Art* meets that need. Its author is a British saxophonist who doubles as jazz critic for the *Observer,* and occasionally for the BBC. In contrast with the feverish excesses of much jazz writing, Mr. Green's style is lucid and graceful and he has an acidulous wit. He is contemptuous, as he should be, of most jazz criticism: "Whenever confronted with true originality, the ill-equipped critic has instinctively retired in disorder, trailing his abstruse jargon behind him." He is also resistant to sentimentality: "The curse of jazz music is its hagiography . . ."

The Reluctant Art consists of essays on five musicians whose work illustrates both "the highly pressurized rate" of the music's evolution and the concomitant growth of the jazzman's self-consciousness. As jazz has become more complex and designed more for concentrated listen-

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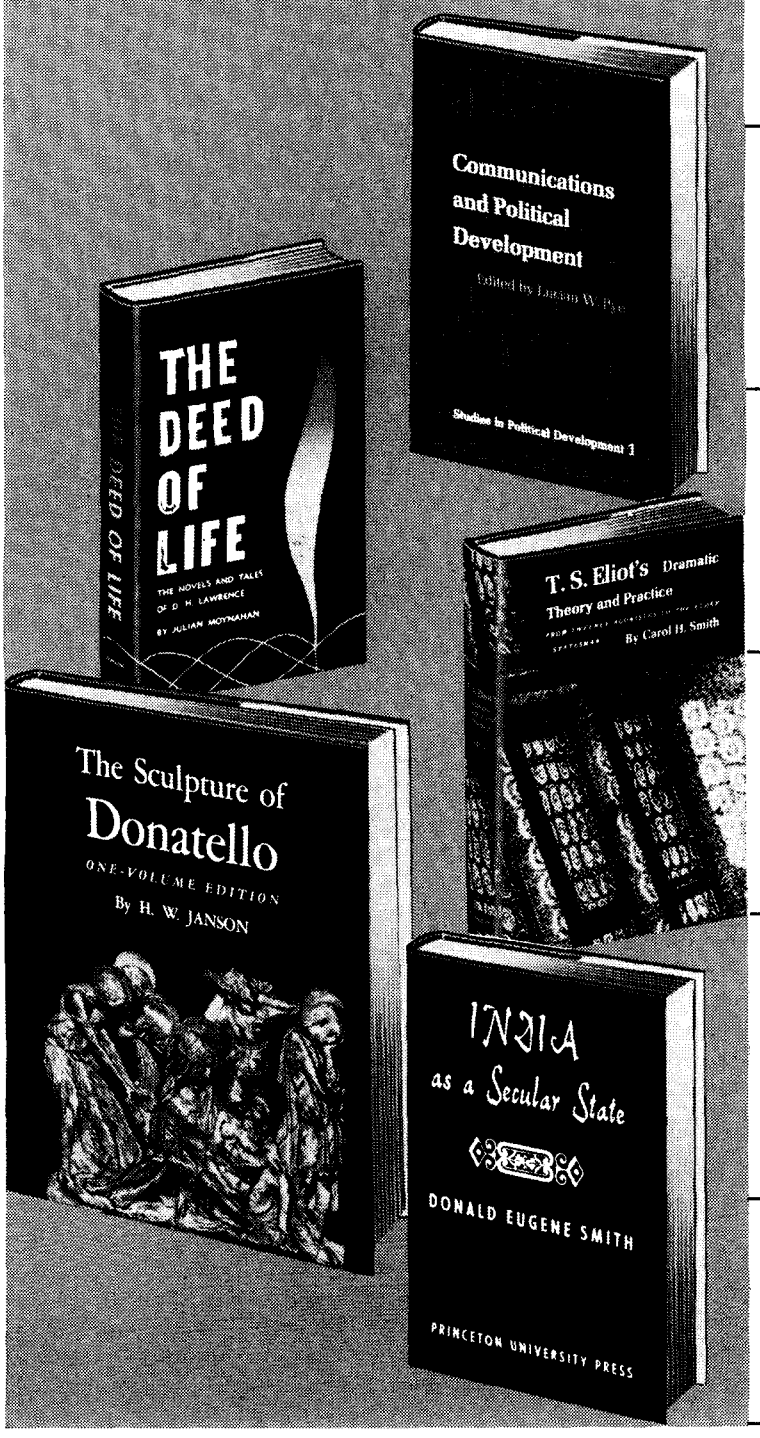
Of art, poetry, and political patterns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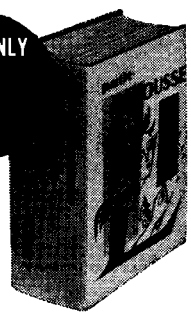

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ing than as a background for dancing and drinking, the problem of retaining spontaneity and emotional directness has been intensified. The meaning of the book's title is that "The production of valid jazz depends on a delicate compromise between acute awareness and complete unselfconscious ease, between extreme artistic agility and consummate relaxation." At the beginning, "there was only the kick of having a blow." Now, jazz is—reluctantly and inevitably—art.

MR. GREEN'S five subjects are among those performers who significantly changed the jazzman's situation, either musically or socially. To begin with, he strips Bix Beiderbecke of all the trappings of bibulous martyrdom with which he has been encumbered by most of his idolators (including novelist Dorothy Baker in *Young Man with a Horn*). Beiderbecke's dilemma was not in a choice between "pure" jazz and the commercialism of the Paul Whiteman orchestra. He was "the first jazz musician who felt obliged to attempt a widening of the harmonic scope of jazz by grafting on to it some of the elementary movements of modern harmony . . ." But, "his own developing sensibilities forced him far beyond the point for which his training and experience had equipped him"—an insight that explains Beiderbecke's erratic career and its ultimate collapse.

Benny Goodman is treated as a demonstration of what happens when jazz music develops "bourgeois sensibilities." Green's essay on Goodman is the first to balance accurately his achievements against his role in the commercialization of the big swing band. For the young Goodman, as he himself admitted, perfecting his technique was a way of "riding out the worsening depression." By the early 1940's, Goodman and other musicians of similiar temperament were "devoted to sating the appetite of the masses for cheap dreams, easy to understand but very hard for any artist to swallow."

By contrast with the jazz player as businessman, there was Lester Young, a buoyant original, whose textural and melodic contributions to jazz improvisations are admirably detailed by Green. He also distills the nonpareil accomplishments of Billie Holiday. Unlike Bessie Smith and earlier blues singers who could draw upon the raw poetry of the blues, Miss Holiday "had largely to create her own" out of the bland and often mawkish lyrics of popular tunes. Green then illustrates exactly how she did it in terms of phrasing and harmony, so that even readers wholly innocent of musical training can understand his analysis. Green also has the sensitivity to realize that in her final years Miss Holiday's recordings were not, as many critics have claimed, "the insufferable croakings of a woman already half-dead, but recitatives whose dramatic intensity becomes unbearable, statements as frank and tragic as anything throughout the whole range of popular art."

The final chapter, on Charlie Parker, focuses not on his self-consuming life but on his music alone. Green summarizes the core of Parker's explosive impact on all later jazzmen: ". . . he was not only able to introduce into the jazz context shades of harmonic subtlety never before heard in jazz, but he was able at the same time to restore to jazz an emotional sincerity it had forgotten about in the preceding era of sophisticated techniques, ambitious orchestrations, and compromises with the tastes of the dance hall."

AT THE VERY END of the book, however, even Green becomes one of those critics who retire in disorder before "true originality." Despite his critical ability and taste, he cannot admit and will not try to understand such irrepressible innovators as Ornette Coleman, whose music is both more complex and more spontaneous than any in the past. Green observes, "No jazz musician ever learns more than one style or school of jazz effectively, no matter how determined he may be to stay modern." The same limitations also apply, as Green unwittingly indicates, to some critics. Nonetheless, although Green has limitations as an observer of the radical changes in the 1960's, his book is a superior guide to much of what has happened up to now to this insatiably restless music.

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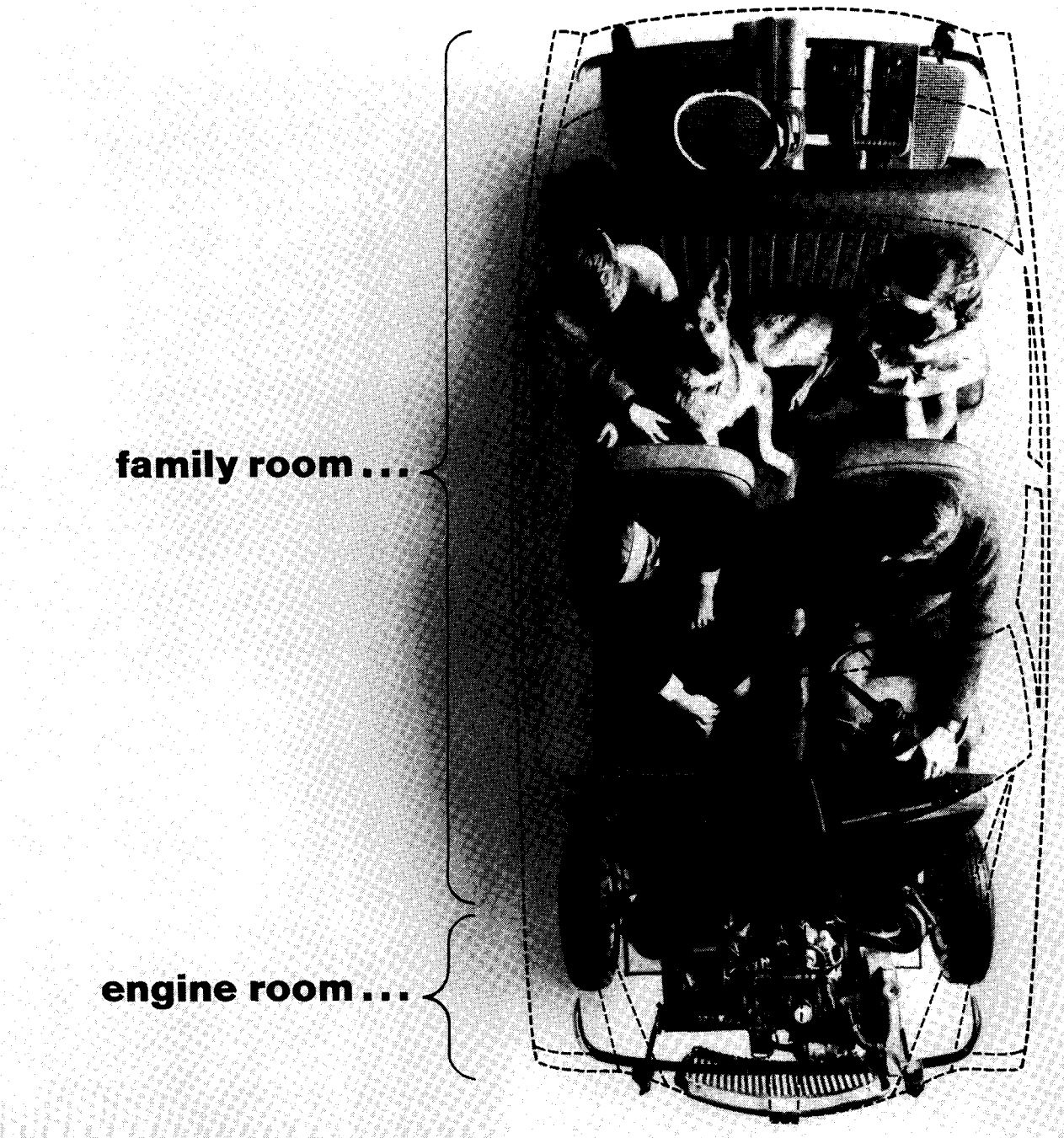

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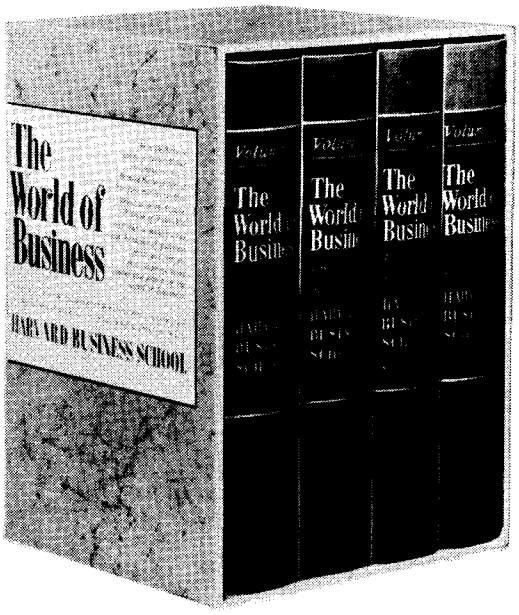

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